

# LENIN

His Life and Work

By

J. YAROSLAVSKY

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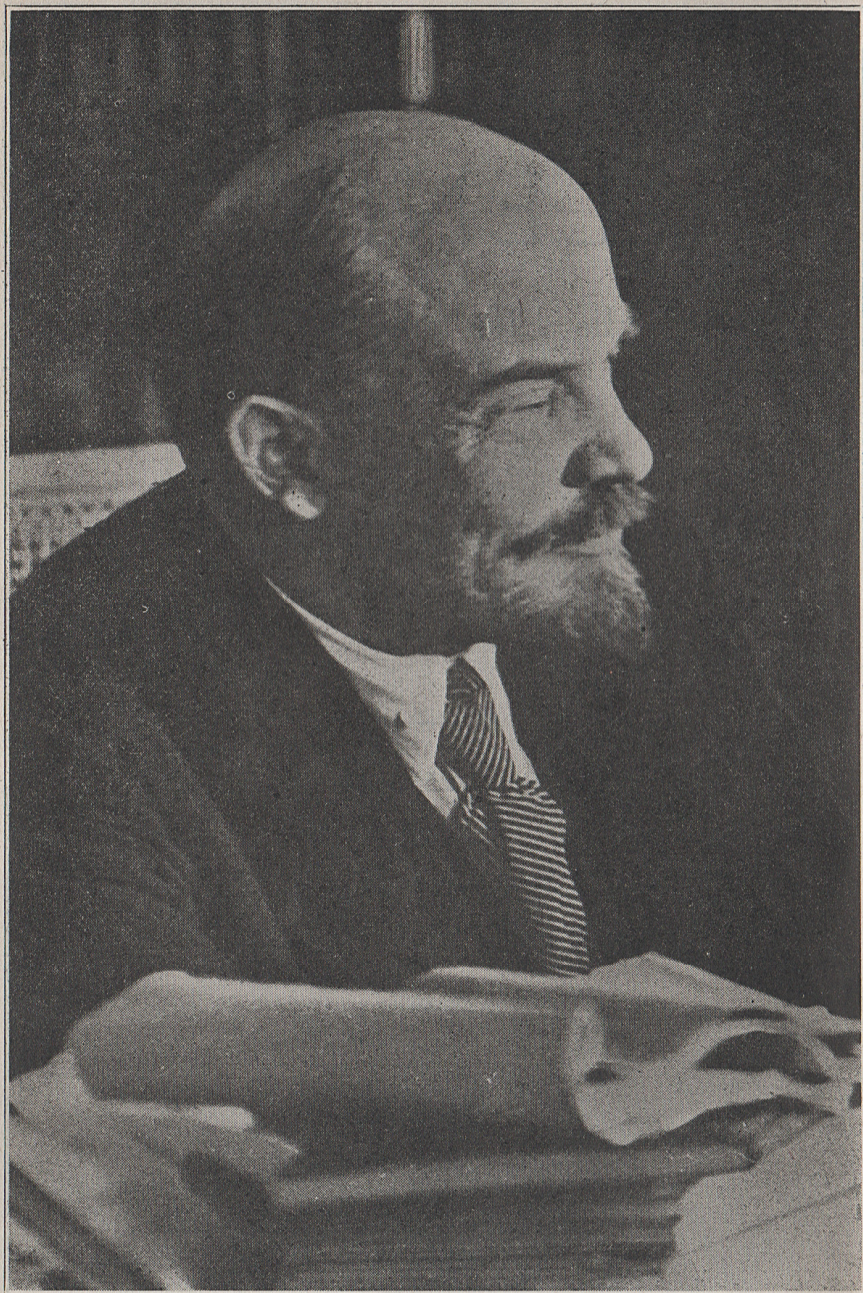
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## CHILDHOOD AND ADOLESCENCE

Vladimir Ilyitch Ulianov-Lenin was born on April 23, 1870, in the town of Simbirsk. His ancestors were peasants. His grandfather was registered as a citizen<sup>1</sup> of the town of Astrakhan.

The father of Lenin, Ilya Nikolaievitch Ulianov, was a director of elementary schools. He was a just man, very clever, respected by all who came in contact with him, particularly by the teachers in the urban and rural schools. He opened more than 400 such schools with 20,000 pupils. He never owned land or property.

Comrade Elizarova, Comrade Lenin's eldest sister, relates: "He was rather a plain man. In Samara in 1878, he bought a log house which, on moving to Kazan in 1887, mother sold."

Comrade Lenin had two brothers, Alexander and Dmitri. Alexander was executed by Czar Alexander III. Dmitri is still alive. Two sisters of Lenin are also still living, Anna Ilinichna Elizarova and Maria Ilinichna Ulianova. One sister, Olga, died when Lenin was still quite young. Lenin's mother, Maria Alexandrovna, died before the revolution, in 1913. Lenin was very fond of his mother and even when he lived in exile abroad he cared for her a great deal and sometimes he tore himself away

(1) He was registered as a "meschanin," which is synonymous with the word "burgher." In Russia until the revolution the people were divided into various "orders" of which "meschanin" was one.



from the most pressing work in order to serve her in some way. Lenin's family was a very happy one, always living modestly on the proceeds of its own labor.

A story is related which illustrates the character of Lenin's mother. (In 1899, when Lenin was in exile in Siberia,) Lenin's mother went to Petrograd in order to appeal to the Director of the Department of Police to allow her son to go abroad, or at least to transfer him to Pskov. When the director came out of his room and saw Lenin's mother, he said to her sneeringly with all the arrogance and cynicism of a Czarist official:

"You ought to be proud of your children: one of them has been hanged and the other has the noose round his neck."

And Lenin's mother replied with extreme dignity:

"Yes, I am proud of my children."

Even when he was quite young Comrade Lenin attracted attention by his abilities. In school he kept rather to himself, read a great deal, studied hard at foreign languages which he came to know very well.

The news of the arrest of his elder brother, Alexander, came when Lenin was still at college. At that time the fight against the Czarist government was being conducted by the revolutionary party known as the "Narodnaya Volya." On March 1, 1881, the Narodnaya Volya Party assassinated Czar Alexander II because of the cruelties he perpetrated on the peasantry, because of the support which he gave to the landed nobility in their oppression of the peasantry, and because of the freedom he granted the capitalists to exploit the workers. The members of this party were brave men and women who entered into this unequal single combat with the Czarist autocracy. One of these heroic individuals was Alexander Ulianov—Lenin's elder brother. About that time the Executive Com-

mittee of the Narodnaya Volya was disbanded and its members executed by the Czarist government, and Alexander, with several of his comrades—Ossipanov, Shevirev, Amdreushkin, Generalov and others—resolved to continue this unequal fight.

Czar Alexander III was still more autocratic and feudalistic than his father. He was terrified by his father's death and launched a reign of terror throughout the country. On March 13, 1887, Alexander Ulianov, who was preparing Alexander II's fate for Alexander III, was arrested. The news reached Simbirsk, where Lenin, then 17 years of age, was at college. The members of the family hesitated to break the news to their mother. Comrade Lenin, however, undertook to do so and did it with great firmness. Already at that time he revealed great self-command in moments of difficulty.

The impression upon Comrade Lenin of the arrest and execution of his brother is related by his sister, Maria. When the news came, in the spring of 1887, Comrade Lenin said, "No, we will not go that way; that way is no use." And from that moment he began to train himself to take the path which he regarded as the only correct one towards the emancipation of Russia from Czardom and capitalism.

From his sister also we learn with what zeal and energy Comrade Lenin worked in order to acquire the knowledge that ultimately enabled him to become the leader of the revolutionary movement in Russia. Lenin spent whole days over his books, tearing himself away only to take some exercise or to take part in the discussions with the small group of comrades who, like himself, were training themselves for revolutionary work. He retained this capacity for work all his life.

Even in his youth Comrade Lenin commanded the respect of those around him and his friends flocked to him



for information and advice. A schoolmate of his relates how even at the time of which we are writing, his comrades used to take every possible opportunity during rambles in the country, in the public parks, or during winter games, to gather round in a close circle and put questions to Lenin about democracy, about the rights of the peasantry, the hard lot of the working class, all of which were very earnestly discussed.

There is not the slightest doubt that already, in those early years, even while at school, Lenin became imbued with hatred for the landed nobility, for the capitalists and the autocratic government. His thoughts were with his brother, incarcerated in the Schlüsselburg Fortress, waiting to be hanged. The trial was short and ruthless. On May 19 of that year, two months after the arrest, Alexander Ulianov and his comrades were hanged in the Schlüsselburg Fortress. And from that moment young Vladimir Ulianov never ceased in his efforts to discover the means of destroying that cursed autocratic system.



### STUDENT LIFE.

COMRADE LENIN graduated from Simbirsk college in 1887, receiving the highest ratings in all subjects. He was to have received a gold medal. However, he was not permitted to enter the university in Petersburg because it was feared that he would follow in his brother's foot-

steps and would try to take revenge for his death as well as for the sufferings of the people. He entered Kazan University in the autumn of 1887, but already on December 5 of that year, he was expelled for participation in student movements and deported to the village of Kokushkino in the Government of Kazan.

In 1888, he applied for readmittance to the university but the application was turned down, so that he was neither admitted to the university in the capital nor in the provinces. Comrade Lenin then applied to be allowed to continue his education abroad but the government realized that he was to be a dangerous enemy in the future, and refused to allow him to go abroad.

In the autumn of 1888, permission was given to Comrade Lenin to live at his mother's house in Kazan, where she had settled with her family. Here it was that Lenin began to study Marx's "Capital," and became greatly absorbed in it.

In the summer of 1889, Comrade Lenin moved to Samara where he was able to become more closely acquainted with the revolutionary Communist doctrines of Karl Marx. Of Marx's works only a few were known in Russia at that time and to study them was very difficult. The police were vigilant and took note of every one who read such literature. Lenin was already noted in the "bad books" of the gendarmerie and police. He could not come to any arrangement with the university. He applied for permission to take his examinations but this was refused. Only in 1891 was permission given him to go to Petersburg to take his examinations. Finally, in 1891, he passed his examinations in the Law Faculty and obtained the degree of Assistant Barrister. By that time Lenin had become thoroughly acquainted with the doctrines of Marx and became his loyal and worthy pupil.



## THE NINETIES.

BY that time the remnants of the Narodnaya Volya Party were finally broken up and those who wanted to fight for the emancipation of the toilers in Czarist Russia began to reexamine the means by which this emancipation could be achieved. Reliance upon peasant revolts, which broke out from time to time when the peasants became desperate and were ready to fight to the death in their frantic efforts to overthrow the rule of the landlords, proved valueless. This was especially so because there were no means by which these isolated peasant revolts could be united into one powerful movement. To fight individually with bomb and revolver, as the members of the Narodnaya Volya Party had fought in the past, offered no prospect of success. The yoke was still more firmly fixed around the necks of the workers and peasants and it became still more oppressive to live amidst the graveyard silence that reigned in the country.

Meanwhile the working class—the urban proletariat—had already taken an independent road in the struggle and there arose with greater and greater frequency people who saw in the urban working class, in the factory proletariat, the power that must take the lead in the movement for emancipation and lead all the toilers to battle against the Czarist regime and against the rule of the capitalists and landlords.

But not all the revolutionaries of that time understood this.

The doctrines of Marx, however, were beginning to spread. The seeds of these doctrines were scattered everywhere. Some, like Comrade Lenin, saw in these doctrines a powerful instrument for the emancipation of the working class. Briefly, Marx taught that bourgeois capitalist society inevitably gives birth to and trains a revolutionary class, the proletariat, and that this proletariat, consciously or unconsciously, is compelled by its economic position to fight against capitalism. Marx's teachings reveal to this class the purpose of the struggle: the abolition of the rule of capital, the capture of political power (dictatorship of the proletariat), and the seizure of the means and instruments of production (banks, factories, railways, mines, etc.). For this purpose the working class must unite in a single party to organize the struggle. In this fight the proletariat has nothing to lose but the chains of capitalist slavery but it has the whole world to gain. In this struggle it wins over to its side other classes, as, for example, the peasantry, particularly the poor peasantry, the rural proletariat and semi-proletariat. In those countries where the survivals of feudalism have not been abolished (as was the case in Russia) the working class will abolish them in its struggle. The working class will establish its rule not in order to govern, not for the sake of power itself, but in order to abolish all domination, all power to reconstruct society, so that people may govern themselves, and all economic life be socialized. Of course years and decades of stubborn work and struggle are necessary to realize the revolution. This is necessary because the poorest and the middle class peasants must be made to understand that such a system of society would be more advantageous for them. Such were the teachings of Marx.

At that time also there were persons of an educated type, who regarded themselves as friends of the people



but who were incapable of understanding the revolutionary doctrines of Marx, and could not see ahead and could not understand in what direction Russia was developing. All these people thought that the Russians were a peculiar people, constructed differently from other peoples. They believed that it would be possible for Russia to avoid the capitalist stage of development through which other countries were passing. When they were told to examine the labor question they said: "Have we a labor question in our country? The revolutionary labor question exists only in countries like Germany, England, but not here." These people were called the "Narodniki" ("Populists"). In arguing against the Marxists, these Narodniki said that in Russia there was not even a real bourgeoisie; in their opinion the peasantry would lead in the revolution.

This was the atmosphere in which Comrade Lenin began his work. With his far-seeing eagle eye, he surveyed the field and saw that a new power was rising for the battle—the proletariat of the workshop and factory.

The scribes and savants looked askance at young Vladimir Ilyitch who dared to argue with them and endeavor to teach wise, old men like themselves. But Comrade Lenin, with his apt, deliberate thrusts revealed their thoughts and proved that expressions like "people," "freedom of the people" and similar pretty phrases which they were fond of using offered nothing good to the workers and peasants.

Comrade Lenin made a deep impression in Samara. Very soon a small but firm group was formed there which included people who subsequently became revolutionary Marxists. From different towns the people came to this circle to hear about the new doctrine, and at the time a newspaper was published there, advocating Marxism, called "The Samara Vestnik."

## WORK IN PETERSBURG.

IN the autumn of 1893, Comrade Lenin moved to St. Petersburg. By that time, he was a completely matured revolutionary leader. In 1894, he joined a group of social-democratic propagandists there, calling itself the **Central Group for the Guidance of the Labor Movement**. The labor movement at that time had developed fairly extensively. On May 1, 1891, the St. Petersburg workers organized a secret meeting at which one of the workers made the following speech:

"Comrades, we will learn to unite, we will unite into a powerful party. Brothers, we will sow the great seed from the rise of the sun to its setting, in all the corners of our earth."

Comrade Lenin together with the workers, V. Shelgunov<sup>2</sup>, I. V. Babushkin, Boris Zinoviev and others formed a number of circles. V. Shelgunov and Babushkin were two of the most prominent working men of that time. Shelgunov devoted all his time and efforts to the labor movement. He knew all the working class districts in St. Petersburg excellently and all the St. Petersburg workmen knew him very well. With the aid of a group of progressive working men, they succeeded in organizing many circles, selected representatives from the working class dis-

<sup>2</sup>Comrade Shelgunov is still alive but quite blind, nevertheless his memory is still good and he retains his revolutionary vigor.



tricts and laid the foundation of the organization which in 1895 was converted into the **League for the Struggle for Emancipation of the Working Class**. From the very beginning, Comrade Lenin took a great part in organizing this league. It was necessary to carry on a fight against those who had no faith in the success of the labor movement, against those who failed to understand the functions of the labor movement and who strove to divert it from its true path. In the autumn of 1894, it was resolved to take up mass work and in January, 1895, Comrade Lenin wrote his first leaflet dealing with the strike at the Semyanikov factory. He realized how essential it was to react to every strike that took place, to every expression of discontent and how important that the leaflets should reflect what the workers were concerned with most and the hardships they encountered at every step. From these petty things the workers would gradually begin to understand more profound causes of the difficult conditions of the working class.

At this time, Comrade Lenin wrote a very important book entitled: **"Who Are the 'Friends of the People,' and How Do They Fight Against the Social Democrats."** This book was not printed on a printing press, it was gotten out on a hectograph machine upon which all secret propaganda literature was copied at that time. In this book, Comrade Lenin explains the doctrines of Marx and proves that they alone are able to mark out the correct path of the struggle. He shows that the fine talk of the Narodniki scribes is, in fact, harmful to the interests of the people. He shows that it is impossible to retard the development of capitalism, that it is necessary to study it, to discover the laws of its development and to seek to organize the forces capable of destroying it.

## THE FIRST JOURNEY ABROAD.

AT the end of April, 1895, Comrade Lenin went abroad, not on a holiday, but to establish connections with the revolutionary followers of Marx, then living in exile: George Plekhanov, Paul Axelrod, Vera Zasulitch and others. In 1893 these comrades had formed abroad the first Marxist revolutionary society known as the **Emancipation of Labor Group**. This group of social-democrats (as they were then called) living abroad, published revolutionary books and secretly got them across the frontier to Russia. Lenin travelled to Switzerland to establish connections with this group and to discuss with it what action should be taken in the future. These people at that time were regarded—and indeed were—genuine revolutionaries. Plekhanov was looked upon as the teacher of the Marxists of that day. His books and articles were of great importance for the first steps of the labor movement. Comrade Lenin made a profound impression on all these comrades. Paul Axelrod said at the time: "Until now we have not had in Russia a man who combined a knowledge of Marxian theory with the practical qualities of an organizer. Now we have found such a man: he, Vladimir Ilyitch Ulyanov—Lenin, is the future leader of the labor movement." Paul Axelrod was very niggardly with his praise and such an opinion, expressed at that time was of extreme importance. Comrade Lenin discussed with the Emancipation of Labor Group all the important questions relative to the further progress



of the work. He arranged for the transfer of revolutionary pamphlets and newspapers across the frontier and then returned to St. Petersburg, in September, 1895. On his return, he, in conjunction with other comrades, definitely formed the **League for the Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class**.

At this time a strike movement began in the capital and in all the industrial centers. The workers could no longer bear the oppression of the capitalists and factory owners. The workers' circles had done their work—had instilled into the consciousness of the workers the necessity for fighting—and the fight broke out. Comrade Lenin was busy writing leaflets and manifestoes for the various factories.

The police and spies scoured working class districts of the capital, in search of members of the league and on the night of December 9 the majority of the members of the league were arrested. Comrade Lenin's rooms were searched and he was arrested together with Shelgunov, Babushkin, Krijajanovsky, Radchenko, Starkov and others and taken to prison. But Comrade Lenin did not allow his spirit to fall. Even in prison his mind was occupied with that one single thought: How will worker and peasant Russia develop and how can she be assisted? In prison he began on his big work, **"The Development of Capitalism in Russia."** This book did not appear, however, until three years later, in April, 1899. This book became a sort of bible, not only for the pupils of Marx of that day, but also for the whole generation of Marxian workers. In this work Comrade Lenin proved with facts and figures how capitalism was gaining, inch by inch in peasant Russia, how it was ruining the peasantry, how it was causing the number of horseless and landless peasants, agricultural laborers and semi-proletarians and semi-peasants to increase, how

the handicraftsmen were being ruined and made dependent upon the capitalists and how the class of rich peasant capitalists was increasing in number. This work proved to many that neither for the working class nor the peasantry was there any other way out of their position except by revolution. Of course, everything had to be written in a guarded manner and not everything could be stated openly and clearly, but at that time, the revolutionaries had already learned to read between the lines and to understand hints and suggestions. Moreover, Comrade Lenin's thoughts were so clear and the conclusions to be drawn from them were so inevitable that it was never difficult to understand. It can be said that the ideas in this book lit up the path of the struggle for many hundreds and thousands of revolutionaries of that day. In addition to this book Comrade Lenin managed secretly to issue from the prison several of his manifestoes, as for example, his **First of May Manifesto of 1896**.

Sentence was passed on Comrade Lenin on January 29, 1897. He was sentenced to exile in Siberia for three years and at the end of February Comrade Lenin started out for the village of Shushenskoe, Minusin county, in the Enesia government. Subsequently he was joined by his friend and comrade, Navyejda Constantina Krupskaya, who there became his wife.





## LIFE IN EXILE.

**E**XILES, isolated from the life to which they had been accustomed, they had so to arrange their lives as to preserve their strength. They did not pine or bemoan their fate but kept in good spirits, inspired by the conviction that they would still have the opportunity of working for the emancipation of the working class. Meanwhile, they did what they could while in exile. They themselves studied hard and taught others. Local peasants now recall how they came frequently to Comrade Lenin with all sorts of questions. Comrade Lenin met them willingly but cautiously and taught them "to keep their tongues between their teeth."

Among several works of considerable importance which Comrade Lenin wrote while in exile, is a small pamphlet entitled, "**The Tasks of the Russian Social-Democracy.**" In this brochure Comrade Lenin answers correctly the question as to how the socialist movement should be organized in a backward country like Russia where the majority of the population are peasants. At that time, a controversy was going on as to whether the workers should take part in the political struggle or whether they should simply fight for their economic interests: higher wages, shorter hours, improvement in the conditions of labor, etc. Some agreed that the workers must take part in the political struggle, but they could not under any circumstances connect the struggle against the bourgeoisie for economic

improvements, for socialism or for communism, with the struggle against the czarist government. At that time there was a group of socialists called "Economists." These economists said quite frankly that the workers should not take interest in the political struggle. Their business was to fight for the "kopeck," for a five-kopeck increase in wages, etc. As for the fight against the czarist government, they said, the workers should leave this to the liberal bourgeoisie, to the lawyers, the engineers, to the professors and the doctors. In the pamphlet referred to above, Comrade Lenin dealt with the tasks of the working class. He pointed out to the workers that they must immediately take up the political struggle and that it was useless to place any reliance upon the bourgeoisie. What in Western Europe, during the great French revolution for example, was accomplished by the bourgeoisie—the abolition of the survivals of feudalism—in Russia must be taken up by the working class. It was no use waiting for political changes, when a more liberal government would make it possible to form an independent communist workers' party. This must be done immediately, no matter how difficult the conditions were, nor how severe the regime of the czarist autocracy. It was necessary, urged Comrade Lenin, to form a party capable of leading the working class in the struggle both against the czarist government and the bourgeoisie.





## THE RETURN FROM EXILE.

ON January 21, 1900, Comrade Lenin was allowed to return from Siberia and he travelled to Podolsk where his mother then lived. Later he went to Ufa where Comrade Krupskaya was finishing her sentence. Of course, he could not go to Moscow or St. Petersburg because it would be impossible for him to do any work there. The records of the secret service show that his every movement was known to the gendarmerie, but Comrade Lenin could not remain quietly in one place. He decided to go to Pskov where there were many exiles suspected by the government. Here he helped to mould the convictions of many of these comrades, and drew up plans for the publication of the revolutionary newspaper, which subsequently was to be the "Iskra."

During one of his journeys to St. Petersburg, Comrade Lenin was again arrested. He remained in prison for three weeks and finally became convinced that he would not be allowed to live peacefully in Russia and that it would be much better for the cause if he went abroad and carried on his revolutionary work there. In a foreign land he could write, carry on propaganda, organize, train workers for the movement and guide the work of the party. On July 16, 1900, Comrade Lenin left Russia.

## EXILE ABROAD.

PRIOR to his last arrest and his departure from Russia, Comrade Lenin made a tour of a number of large towns and wherever possible laid the basis for the future organization of a workers' party. He formed groups of workers with whom he made arrangements to carry on correspondence through secret liaison quarters.\*

In this manner he was able very soon after his arrival abroad to correspond with numerous comrades, to influence them and give them instructions. As soon as he had established himself abroad, he began to publish "Iskra" (The Spark), of which he was one of the editors, and through this paper, which was secretly conveyed across the frontier, he began to gather revolutionary forces, revolutionary workers, to unite them into a single body and direct them towards a single aim.

Conveying the "Iskra" and other printed matter across the frontier into Russia was a very risky business. It was necessary either to smuggle it across as contraband, or to deceive the gendarmes on the frontier by various devices,

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\*In Russia this was called a "Yavka." These were addresses previously agreed to, at which a comrade could call without fear of arrest to obtain contact with the organization in the district. Usually the house of a comrade, sometimes even a bourgeois family, which was on the good books of the police, and was regarded as quite reliable, was selected. There the members of the organization were known and received. Usually a password was agreed upon by which the member was known.



pack newspapers under one's clothes or conceal them in the linings of travelling trunks, etc., and it was necessary to find people to do this work who would not be frightened at the prospect of imprisonment, exile to Siberia, or even penal servitude in the event of discovery. Such devoted people were found, and they were prepared to make any sacrifice in order to get the "Iskra" to the working districts of Russia. When we recall now what enormous importance this paper had for all of us, we realize how just was the prophecy contained in its sub-title, "Out of Sparks Come Forth Flames."

Indeed, out of the small sparks blazed the great flames of the revolution which consumed the nobility, the capitalist class and the throne of the czars.

At that time, each organization, each small group in the various towns, worked, as it were, "without a helm or rudder," ("amateurishly" as Comrade Lenin said) without central guidance; and where there is no central guidance, there is not yet a party. A workers' party can be formed only when the advanced section of the working class unites for the common struggle, when it has central leadership and a single program, but at that time this did not yet exist. It was necessary to prepare the ground for such a party, to explain to all how to form it and to disperse the false conceptions concerning the tasks of the working class.



## WHY THE BOLSHEVIK PARTY WAS FORMED.

THE Bolshevik Party was formed in 1903. The Bolsheviks began to call themselves this after the Second Congress of the party, i. e., after 1903.\* The Second Congress was held abroad. At this congress the program and rules of the party were discussed. Regarding these there were differences of opinion. One side was led by Comrade Lenin and the other by Martov. Lenin obtained the majority by a few votes, hence his side was known as the "majority" fraction and the other side as the "minority" fraction. In Russian, the word for "majority" is "bolshinstvo" from which arose the term "bolsheviki," that is, adherents of the majority; the word for "minority" in Russian is "menshinstvo," hence the word, "mensheviki," i. e., the adherents of the minority.

At that time the controversy seemed to many to be very trifling. Many comrades did not even understand what the discussion was about. After all, what did it matter whether the rule said that "any person accepting the program of the party, who renders it material support and personally co-operates with it under the guidance of one of its branches may become a member of the party," as Martov suggested, or whether point one of the constitution should read: "Any person accepting the program of the party and who supports the party both with material re-

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\*The First Congress of the Party was convened in the town of Minsk, in 1898, but the police got wind of it and nearly all the delegates were arrested, so that the party was actually formed at the Second Congress.



sources and by personally taking part in the work of one of the branches of the party may become a member of the party," as Lenin proposed. Indeed, the difference seemed to be a petty one.

Actually, however, the bolsheviks and Comrade Lenin demanded that the membership of the party be carefully selected and that persons who still hesitated be kept out. The mensheviks said: "But what about people like professors and college students? Do you insist that these personally take part in the work of the party organization?" The Bolsheviks replied: "We will do without professors and college students; let us have as many working men as possible who will join the party and work in it as party members."

On this question Lenin and his supporters were in the minority, but on the question of the attitude of the working class towards the bourgeoisie and on other important questions, they were in the majority. Hence the designation of "Bolsheviki."



### LENIN FORMS THE BOLSHEVIK PARTY.

MEANWHILE, the revolutionary movement was unfolding in Russia. The mass strikes of 1902-1903 broke out; the wave of peasant disorders was spreading. Lenin taught that the task of the revolutionaries was to get the working class itself to take direct part in the struggle, to demonstrate in the streets, to put forward its demands to the government and, in taking part in the strikes, to put

forward demands not only to the capitalists for increases in wages, but also **political** demands to the government for a complete change of its conditions. The revolutionaries must prepare the working class for the armed uprising. It was their duty to work not only among the workers, but also among the soldiers in the army; to set up military revolutionary organizations. They must also conduct work among the peasantry, particularly among the poorest section of the peasants.

When the Zemstvos (the county councils) and the educated classes began to draw up petitions to the governments, the Mensheviks rejoiced and said: "Here are allies for the workers. The workers must be careful not to act in a manner to frighten the bourgeoisie"—this was the height of their wisdom.

Lenin ridiculed these wiseacres and showed that the workers had their own path to follow, that they must act in the most determined fashion, exposing the false character of the liberal Zemstvos, Constitutional Democrats, etc. The working class had no need to worry about frightening the bourgeoisie by its action. It should take care, however, not to alienate the peasantry. These were two different matters.

Twenty years ago Lenin began to advocate unity between the working class and the peasantry. What is the role of the proletariat in the revolution? Lenin and his Bolshevik pupils taught that the proletariat is the leader of the revolution. It leads the peasantry and other hesitating sections of the people into the decisive battle. The working class must support every movement that is resolutely directed against the czarist government. In the forthcoming revolution, the working class will be victorious only if it combines its action with the action of the rural poor, the revolutionary peasantry. The form of gov-



ernment which will be established in Russia, in the event of the revolution being victorious, will be the rule (dictatorship) of the proletariat and the revolutionary peasantry.

Comrade Lenin clearly and distinctly expounded this view in his pamphlet written for the peasants in 1903, entitled, "To the Rural Poor."

From this it is evident that Lenin did not commence to advocate an alliance between the workers and the peasants from the February or October Revolutions of 1917, but 20 years before that. Moreover, in 1905-1906 Comrade Lenin raised the question of the rule of the workers and peasants. At the party congress held in Stockholm in 1906, the question of the agrarian program was discussed and Comrade Lenin then pointed out that we would have to carry out the nationalization of the land, i. e., the very system that is now being carried out in Russia.

This was opposed by Plekhanov, P. Maslov and others. They said: "How can we transfer the land to the state? Suppose the landlords come back?"

Comrade Lenin replied to this: "We must make every peasant understand that once he has seized the land from the landlords, he must completely reconstruct the state from top to bottom so as to make it impossible for the landlord to return. The government of the country from top to bottom must be a government of the people."



## THE FIRST REVOLUTION.

MEANWHILE the Russian government commenced the Japanese war. From the very beginning of this war, Comrade Lenin was against it. He foresaw that the peo-

ple would not take it quietly, and that as a consequence a great popular movement would arise. And thus it happened; soon after the Russian fleet was sunk at Tsushima after the surrender of Port Arthur and after the defeats at Mukden and other important battles in Manchuria, where hundreds and thousands of Russian troops sacrificed their lives, discontent broke out in the Russian army.

Prior to that, on January 9, 1905, the workers, no longer able to tolerate the oppression of the capitalists and this wanton war, resolved to go to the czar and petition for relief. They marched in an orderly fashion in complete confidence to the czar, carrying crosses, sacred banners and ikons, and portraits of the czar. They did not sing the "Internationale" or any other revolutionary songs, but "Lord Save Thy People," and Czar Nicholas Romanoff, the anointed of the lord, sitting in his palace, said to them: "Come unto me all ye who are weary and heavy-laden, and I will give you—lead."

They marched full of confidence in their czar—and the czar shot them. More than 1,000 innocent people died in the streets of the capital. Then laboring Russia rose up, and when the terrible tidings of what had taken place in Petersburg reached the rural districts and the army and the fleet, the whole country began to seethe with indignation. Peasant revolts began to break out; the landlords' manors were set on fire. The "Red Cock"\* began to stalk through the estates of the nobility. In the summer of 1905, a mutiny broke out among the Black Sea Fleet, headed by the battleship "Potemkin." However, the attempt to overthrow the rule of the czar and the capitalists at that time was not successful. There was not yet in existence in Russia a strong party that could undertake the leadership

\*This is what the incendiary movement was called.



of this discontent which was seething over the whole country and direct the movement along a definite path.

Nevertheless, by the autumn of 1905, the labor movement began to develop extensively and in October this development resulted in a general strike. Everything came to a standstill. Workshops, factories, railways, the post and the telegraph. Then, as the popular song sung at that time says:

**"The Czar was scared  
And issued a decree:  
Freedom for the dead  
And jail for the living."**

On October 17, 1905, the czar issued a manifesto, promising a constitution. The next day the blood of the workers flowed freely in the streets of the towns.

When the news of these events reached Comrade Lenin, he decided almost on the very next day, in spite of the danger, to come to Russia. He went to live quite close to the capital, on the Finnish frontier, in Kwokkal on the Finnish railway, and from there paid frequent visits to the capital to direct the movement. Of course, it was dangerous for him to do this too often. Nevertheless, he managed to attend numerous meetings, delivered lectures, etc. Moreover, it was rather easy to go to Terijoki or some other place over the Finnish frontier to meet Lenin and discuss matters with him. Many such conferences were arranged and Lenin gave his comrades instructions how to act.

A congress of the party was to have been held at the end of 1905, but it did not take place. The Bolsheviks assembled in Tammerfors in the north of Finland; but the news came of an armed rising in Moscow. The comrades then quickly dispersed in order to take part in the ris-

ing hoping that it would be possible to organize risings in other towns also. As is well known, the armed rising in Moscow was suppressed and drowned in the blood of the workers. Isolated revolts broke out in Kharkov and Krasnoyarsk but these too were suppressed. The enemy triumphed.

After this the bourgeois liberals and the Mensheviks turned upon the revolutionary workers and reproached them for having been too precipitous and premature in their action. Even Plekhanov, in his Diary of a Social Democrat, wrote: "You should not have had recourse to arms, you should not have started an armed uprising."

Comrade Lenin hurled himself against these defamers and detractors of the revolution with all the zeal at his command.

"Nothing is more shortsighted," he wrote at that time, "than Plekhanov's opinion, eagerly snatched at by all, that it was a mistake to commence an untimely strike and that 'you should not have had recourse to arms.' On the contrary it was necessary to take to arms more resolutely, energetically and aggressively. It was necessary to explain to the masses the inadequacy of merely peaceful strikes, and the necessity for fearless and ruthless armed war. Now we must at last openly and in the hearing of all admit that political strikes are not enough. We must advocate among the broadest sections of the masses the necessity for armed uprising. To conceal from the masses the necessity for a desperate, sanguinary and destructive war as a direct task of future actions, means to deceive oneself and to deceive the people."

In December, 1905, we were crushed. The enemy triumphed and rejoiced. Many comrades were in despair, but Comrade Lenin, with his clear vision, saw that it would be necessary to take to arms again and that it would be



necessary to make proper preparations for this fresh revolt. He not only desired that mistakes be admitted, but that the nature of the mistakes be understood. He regarded one of the most serious mistakes to have been the fact that the attack had not been a desperately bold and irrevocably determined one. In 1905 he wrote:

"December strikingly confirms another profound postulate of Marx, who wrote that insurrection is an art, and the principle rule of this art is—a desperately bold and irrevocably determined attack. We had not imbibed this truth sufficiently. **We ourselves had not sufficiently learned and not sufficiently taught the masses this truth, this rule of attack at all costs.** We must make good this error with our entire energy. It is not sufficient to rally around political slogans. It is necessary also to rally around the slogan of armed uprising. He who is against this, he who does not prepare for this must be ruthlessly expelled from the ranks of the adherents of the revolution; he must be regarded as its enemy, as a traitor, or as a coward, for the day is approaching when the march of events, when the circumstances of the struggle will compel us to recognize our friends and our enemies by this sign."

In 1905 Comrade Lenin believed that we had suffered only a temporary defeat and he was convinced that the time for a fresh battle was approaching, and he called upon the comrades to prepare themselves for it determinedly. He himself wrote instructions for the fighting detachments, how to prepare for armed uprising; he assisted in the publication of newspapers, he defended these militant tactics against the attacks of the Mensheviks, at the Stockholm congresses in 1906 and at the London congress in 1907 and later. In 1906 he wrote:

"We must bear in mind that the day of great mass struggles is approaching. This will be armed uprising. As

far as possible it must be simultaneous. The masses must know that they are entering an armed, bloody, desperate struggle. **The masses must be imbued with a contempt for death and this will guarantee victory. The attack upon the enemy must be most energetic; attack and not defense must be the slogan of the masses.** Their task must be ruthlessly to exterminate the enemy. The organization of the struggle must be mobile and flexible. Vacillating elements in the army will be drawn into active struggle. The party of the class conscious proletariat must do its duty in this great struggle."

When it became clear that it was difficult to calculate an immediate recurrence of the revolt of the masses of the workers, Comrade Lenin called for entry into the State Duma, the very State Duma which many described as the "pigsty," to conduct there the revolutionary struggle, to speak from the tribune of the Taurida Palace, in which the Duma sat, to the workers, the peasants and soldiers, and call on them to combine and to revolt. He did not suggest that the party go into the Duma to pass laws, because no laws useful to the workers and peasants could be passed in that Duma, but to expose the manner in which the people are deceived, and to call the people to the struggle.

In the Duma there sat representatives of merchants, landlords, professors, lawyers, priests and rich farmers, and a handful of workers' deputies. Comrade Lenin taught these latter how to conduct the revolutionary struggle and how to conduct themselves in the Duma. He said to them: "What is the use of your trying to make speeches like those educated gentlemen? You speak simply, in the language of the workmen and peasants; speak about the needs of the workers and about the peasants' conditions, about all the ills that have accumulated, about the injustices committed by the landlords and capitalists. Go up on the plat-



form and tell them that their days are numbered, that we shall seize power and hang them on lampposts. If you make speeches like that, then the workers and peasants will hear you, and listen to what you say, and so, although you are only a mere handful, nevertheless you will be calling them to the struggle, you will be combining them into one mass."

Indeed many deputies did a great deal in the Duma in this way.

In 1905 things developed as far as the formation of Councils of Workers' Deputies in Petersburg, Moscow and other towns and in some places of Councils of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies (as for example, in Krasnoyarsk and Chita). Lenin immediately saw in these councils the form of revolutionary organizations, which was accepted and consolidated in 1917. He secretly attended the meetings of the Council of Workers' Deputies and perhaps already at that time the idea of the establishment of the future Soviet state matured in his mind. He wrote of these councils ("Soviets") as a new form created by the working class.

When the revolution in Russia subsided, the organization was broken up for the most part, and the silence of the grave reigned among Stolypin's gibbets, from which hundreds of his victims were hanging. Comrade Lenin, on the advice and insistence of the comrades in our party, decided, with a sick heart, once again to go abroad, as the police were on his track. Again it became necessary to begin to gather forces for the next struggle.



## THE SECOND EXILE.

THIS second period of exile was somewhat shorter, but more difficult. It was a sad time. Thousands of workers were in prison, hundreds had been hanged, hundreds of the best comrades were languishing in chains, in penal servitude, thousands were scattered in exile in the most remote parts of the country. Numerous traitors appeared—Judases, who betrayed the workers and helped to expose our underground, secret organization. The strongest and most courageous remained in the party in spite of all dangers, and continued to work, merely burrowing still deeper into the ground, like moles, and like moles continuing the work of undermining the old order. The bolder and more agile ones escaped from prison and exile and returned to the work, frequently risking their lives.

On the other hand, a certain section of the comrades prepared for the party's funeral. Particularly contemptible in this connection was the attitude of the Mensheviks. They began to advocate liquidation. They said: underground work must cease, it must be liquidated; the underground party has died, it is now a corpse. It is necessary to work openly and in the manner allowed by the czarist government. Everything that hampers this open, legal work, must be abandoned.

Comrade Lenin had to conduct a desperate struggle against these liquidators, and to keep up the spirits of his followers. "Iskra" had long ceased to appear. In 1904,



Comrade Lenin began to publish a paper called "Vpered" (Forward). Later on he published the "Proletarii" and then the "Sozial Demokrat." In 1905, he published the "Novaya Zhizn" (New Life), and later the "Volna" (The Wave), and others. In Moscow the "Svetoch" (The Torch) was published.

Comrade Lenin now began to consider the necessity for issuing another paper, which would again rally the workers. But it was realizable only at a later date. Meanwhile the scattered forces had to be got together and reunited. So, while abroad, Lenin organized a Marxian school for workers, in which men could be trained as leaders for the local committees. At that time, the intelligentsia was thoroughly terrified and more than three-fourths of them had deserted the party. While the revolution triumphed, these intellectuals hung around the party, but as soon as the dark days came, they fled.

Comrade Lenin thought it would be a good thing to gather together twenty or thirty of the best type of workers, doing practical work in the labor movement, and arm them with the knowledge of the doctrines of Marx; and although many of these pupils of Lenin, on their return to Russia, were arrested and flung into jail or exiled by the czarist government, nevertheless, the work done by the school and by Comrade Lenin was not in vain.



## THE REVOLUTIONARY WAVE AGAIN RISES.

ALREADY in 1910, it was felt that the period of stagnation was passing away. Symptoms of revival were noticeable among the workers. As soon as Comrade Lenin sensed this, he moved nearer to the Russian frontier, and settled in the town of Cracow in Galicia, in order from there to lead the working class struggle. Here he was joined by deputies of the Duma to whom he gave instructions how to act. Other members of the party also came to him for instructions and advice, and then the idea was suggested of issuing a paper, not abroad, but in Russia itself.

It was not until 1911 that this became possible when in Petersburg, the "Zvezda" (The Star), was published. In 1912, Comrade Lenin convened an **All-Russian Conference of Bolsheviks** in Prague. This conference was of tremendous importance. After a long period of consternation, confusion and absence of leadership, the Bolsheviks again gathered together, solved the important problems confronting them at the moment, and drew up a plan of work and outlined the path of the struggle. Comrade Lenin directed attention principally to the task of rallying and consolidating the advanced revolutionary workers and organizing mass agitation. He was opposed to forming the party of heterogeneous elements including Menshevik liquidators and others. Already at that time his motto was: "Little and good." In 1912, "Pravda" (Truth) was



published, but the czarist government immediately pounced upon it. Nevertheless, this paper became the mass paper of the workers, who supported it in every way by collecting money for it in the factories and workers' circles, contributing sums deducted from their wages, wrote for it themselves on matters concerning the life of the workers and helped to distribute it. One day the "Pravda" was suppressed; the next day the "Put Pravdi" (The Path of Truth) appeared. "Put Pravdi" was suppressed and the "Golos Truda" (The Voice of Labor) appeared. The "Golos Truda" was suppressed and the "Pravda Truda" (The Truth of Labor) was published in its place. That paper was suppressed and "Severnaya Pravda" (Northern Truth) was published—and thus the struggle went on. The workers united more and more around the paper. Almost every number contained articles by Comrade Lenin, who lived quite close to the frontier. He carefully watched the paper, and together with other comrades, guided it by constant directions. He was as gleeful as a child, when he counted up the number of workers who subscribed for the paper, the number of factories in which collections were made for it, the number of votes cast for the Bolsheviks in the Metal Workers' Union, and in the elections in the mutual aid clubs. He was the commander, gathering his fighting forces, and counting every soldier ready for the fight with capitalism.

In addition to this, Comrade Lenin wrote a great deal for the periodical, "Prosvetshenia" (Enlightenment) which was published for the benefit of the more advanced workers. He also published a periodical entitled, "Voprosi Strakhovania" (Insurance Questions). All this work was directed by Comrade Lenin, and the extent to which the labor movement was rising, became more palpable.

The advanced workers of that time recognized Com-

rade Lenin as their leader who could be trusted to lead the movement. When the Bolsheviks secured the majority in the Metal Workers' Union against the Social Reactionaries, the Mensheviks and other groups, the workers sent congratulatory messages to their leader, Lenin. The joy and gratification which this gave to Lenin can be well imagined.

After the Lena shootings, on April 4, 1912, the labor movement assumed a definitely political, mass, stormy character. The shooting down of hundreds of innocent workers in the remote Lena gold fields, roused the revolutionary energy of the masses.

In 1914, just prior to the outbreak of the war, the strike movement had spread over whole districts, and in some places developed into armed skirmishes and the erection of barricades. Then the imperialist war broke out.

Another bloodstained page of history was written. Amidst the roar and thunder of guns, out of battered and bloodsoaked trenches, arose the sun of Communism—the dawn of the Communist International appeared.



## THE WAR OF 1914-1918.

THE news of the outbreak of war reached Comrade Lenin when he was living in a Galician village with Comrade Zinoviev. He immediately realized that this was a serious matter. That war was approaching had been clear long before this, and the Bolsheviks had written about it.



In 1907, the congress of the Second International was held in Stuttgart in Germany. The Bolsheviks were then affiliated to the Second International, although they recognized that this international workers' organization, diverged considerably from the revolutionary working class path. Comrade Lenin, together with Rosa Luxemburg and several other comrades, represented a left wing, as it were, at that congress. To the resolution on war that was being discussed, they moved the following amendment.

1. Militarism, i.e., the organization of the armed forces of bourgeois states, is the principal weapon of class oppression.

2. It is necessary to organize propaganda among the youth.

3. It is necessary not only to agitate against the outbreak of war and to demand its speedy cessation if it has broken out, but it is necessary to take advantage of the situation created by the war crisis to bring about the speedy fall of the bourgeoisie.

Later on, when the clouds of war were gathering over Europe, as a consequence of the attempt to partition and plunder the Balkans, the socialists of the Second International again promised to combat war.

Although Comrade Lenin knew very well that there was a difference between the words and the actions of the socialists of that day, nevertheless, he still had a favorable opinion of them. Of that time Comrade Zinoviev relates the following:

"I remember at that time I made a bet with Comrade Lenin. I said: You will see, these German Social Democrats will not dare to vote against the war, they will abstain during the vote on the war credits. But Comrade Lenin said: No, they can't be such scoundrels. Of course, they will not fight against the war, but in order to keep a clear

conscience they will vote against the war, to prevent the workers turning against them."

But both the comrades were wrong. The German Social Democrats acted so lavishly towards the government of Kaiser Wilhelm that they voted for the war credits.

When this happened, Comrade Lenin realized that the Second International had died, and that it was necessary to gather all forces for the construction of a Third International, for the organization that would be capable of fighting against the war, and of carrying out its socialist duty on behalf of the whole of the working class. In November, 1914, Comrade Lenin in an article entitled: "The Position and the Tasks of the Socialist International," wrote the following:

"The Second International carried out a useful duty in performing the preparatory work of preliminary organization of the masses of the proletariat in the long, 'peaceful' epoch of the most severe capitalist slavery, and in the most rapid capitalist progress of the last third of the nineteenth century, and the beginning of the twentieth century. The Third International is confronted with the task of organizing the forces of the proletariat for the revolutionary attack upon the capitalist governments, for the civil war against the bourgeoisie of all countries, for political power and the victory of socialism."

It is now clear to everyone that the Second International as a **Socialist** International has ceased to exist. It had become a branch of reaction disguised by socialistic chatter and the banner of socialism. Behind this screen it restrained the masses from the proletarian revolution and was saving the bourgeoisie from its doom in the same way that it saved it during the war. At that time, however, Comrade Lenin's words roused indignation among socialists. Did not the Second International still enjoy the con-



fidence of millions of workers? Lenin's remarks therefore are an insult to all socialists, they cried indignantly.

Lenin declared war on war. Many regarded him as a simpleton, a dreamer, a fanatic, even a madman, who did not understand what was happening. We know now, however, that Lenin was right. In November, 1914, he wrote:

"The war is not an accident, it is not a visitation from above as a punishment for our sins, as the Christian priests believe. It is an inevitable stage of capitalism, as legitimate a form of capitalism existing as is peace. . . . Refusal to take up military service, strikes against war and similar actions are sheer stupidity, a crude and cowardly dream of an unarmed struggle against the armed bourgeoisie, a sighing for the abolition of capitalism without desperate war or a series of wars. It is the duty of the socialists to advocate the class struggle even in the war. In the period of imperialistic armed conflict between the bourgeoisie of all nations, the sole work of the socialists is to direct affairs towards the conversion of the war of nations into a civil war. Down with sentimental and absurd sighs about 'peace at any price!' Let us raise the banner of civil war. The proletarian banner of civil war, if not today then tomorrow, if not during this war, then in the next war which is not far off, will rally round it not only hundreds of thousands of class-conscious workers, but also the millions of semi-proletarians and petty bourgeois who are at present intoxicated with patriotism, whom the grimaces of war will not only terrorize and crush, but will also enlighten, teach, rouse, organize, harden and train for the war against the bourgeoisie in their own and in other countries."

Lenin alone presented the situation in this clear fashion. Soon it became clear that Mensheviks, like Martov and Social Revolutionaries like Chernov, were opposed

to the war, but these people were incapable of seriously combating the war, and simply themselves landed in confusion and dragged others with them. At Zimmerwald and later on at Kienthal, conferences were convened of socialists who were opposed to the war. At these conferences, the majority were sharply opposed to Lenin. Lenin was even provoked to reproach men like Martov, that they were the agents of the bourgeoisie. Comrade Zinoviev relates that Comrade Rakovsky was so enraged at this that he wished to fight him and Lenin. Of civil war, they absolutely refused to hear.

Comrade Zinoviev, recalling that time, relates the following:

"I remember the conflict between Lenin and Ledebour at Zimmerwald. Ledebour said: 'Yes, it is all very well for you living abroad to call for civil war. I would like to see what you would do if you were in Russia.' And Comrade Lenin calmly replied: 'Karl Marx wrote his Communist Manifesto while he lived abroad, and only a narrow-minded petty bourgeois would reproach him for that. I am living abroad now because the Russian workers sent me here. When the time comes, we shall be at our posts. . . .'"

Everyone knows how Lenin kept his word. He always lived and worked at his post, and at his post he died.

The people who then opposed Lenin, like the Italian Socialists, Serrati, Lazzari and others, now go to prison in defense of the ideas of Comrade Lenin, because his ideas have won general recognition, they have become the ideas of millions of workers, they have become the foundation, the program, the fighting line of the working class of the whole world—of the Communist International. The voices of Lenin and Karl Liebknecht, which at that time were the only voices heard, became the tocsin for all who were



crushed by the imperialist war and the rule of capitalism, the hated capitalist slavery. But only with the victory of the proletarian revolution in Russia was it possible to establish our fighting International League—the Communist International. Until that moment, the task was to gather out of the wreckage the remnants of the Second International all that was honorable, brave and loyal to the proletarian revolution under the banner of “war against war.”

Lenin was called a defeatist. He was of the opinion that even the risk of a defeat of the czarist army must be taken if that was necessary in the interests of the proletarian revolution in Russia. Lenin said: “The czarist army must turn its arms against those responsible for the war—the capitalists and the landlords, against the czarist government.” He was called a traitor. His opponents objected—“The Germans will defeat our army, and we will lose the war.” Lenin replied: “That is better than ‘fighting to a finish’ in the interests of the capitalists and landlords.”

Lenin saw that his words, which at first were like a voice in the wilderness, would later be accepted by thousands of millions. They penetrated into the trenches, into the barracks, into towns and villages, and shook up and roused the people—called forth indignation and abuse from some and revolutionary conviction from others, and helped to rally the forces against the war. Lenin wrote manifestoes, articles, called conferences, agitated, organized the real internationalists, i. e., the real advocates of international solidarity. Comrade Zinoviev describes Lenin’s life at that time as follows:

“Lenin’s role, from the beginning of the war, was a most exceptional one. He was the first to call meetings of international circles. It was an inspiration to see how he devoted his inexhaustible energy to this work in little Switzerland. He lived in Berne and later on in Zurich.

The Social Democratic Party of Switzerland was almost entirely imbued with chauvinism and only a small group of workers united around us. Comrade Lenin spent an enormous amount of time and effort to organize a score or so of the working class youth in Zurich.

“At that time I lived in another town in Switzerland, but I have a very lively recollection of how zealously Comrade Lenin conducted this work, which in its immediate scope was very small. Lenin wrote a number of letters to us, urging us to work among the Swiss, and was as happy as a child when he could report that in Zurich he was able to get seven young proletarians to join his left Social-Democratic organization, and that he had hopes of getting one more.

“The petty bourgeois Swiss government at that time was preparing to deport Lenin as an undesirable. Now the Swiss socialist, Comrade Moor, relates that the statement which the Swiss government compelled us to sign as a guarantee of our good behavior in Switzerland is to be placed in the historical museum. I shall not be surprised if the Swiss petty bourgeoisie, who exhibit their lakes and mountains for a franc per head, will soon charge five francs per head for a view of Lenin’s autograph.

“During 1915-1917 Comrade Lenin led a most unusual life in Switzerland. The war and the collapse of the International greatly affected him. Many comrades who knew him were astonished at the remarkable change in him since the war. He was never very tender with the bourgeoisie, but from the outbreak of the war he exhibited a sort of concentrated hatred for them, which appeared to be as sharp as a newly whetted dagger. His very appearance seemed to have changed. In Zurich, Comrade Lenin lived in the poorest quarter of the town, in the garret of a shoemaker’s flat. He seemed to hunt down every prole-



tarian in order to knock it into him that the war was an imperialist war, that the honor of every proletarian demanded a life and death struggle against this war, and that the working class must not lay down its arms until it has destroyed the imperialist pirates."

It was approximately in such an atmosphere that the news of the February Revolution came to him, who for a score of years had fought for the revolution, prepared for it, advocated it, organized it, who saw its approach, and ardently waited for its coming.

Comrade Lenin's life abroad is described by G. I. Petrovsky, an ex-deputy of the Duma, exiled by the czarist government for his opposition to the war, and now chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the Ukraine. He says:

"During 1912-1913, Comrades Lenin and Zinoviev were in the township of Poronipo in the Carpathians. One day they were discussing the question of the financial resources of the Central Committee of the party and decided that unless the Central Committee succeeded in obtaining funds, not only would all the work be held up, but Comrades Lenin and Zinoviev would be obliged to give up their revolutionary activity and to go and seek a livelihood not near the Russian frontier, but in England, because they could not stay in France or Germany owing to police persecution.

"Comrade Krupskaya worked like a slave trying to make ends meet out of the scanty resources at her disposal. She prepared meals for them, and at the same time performed the secretarial work of the Central Committee. In spite of the hard physical work she performed, she kept all the connections with the labor movement in Russia in her hands, conducted all the correspondence, etc.

"There were moments when things were very critical. Suppose the Central Committee could not raise any funds?

In that case Comrade Lenin would have to leave the movement. It should be remembered that he never wrote for capitalist newspapers and periodicals. Who could hold out under such conditions?

"But this fate was averted.

"Slaving from day to day in order not to concede a single crumb of his abilities to the bourgeoisie but to devote it wholly to the party of the revolutionary proletariat, Comrade Lenin, with the help of his best friends, preserved himself entirely for the revolution. Comrade Lenin's working day was strictly divided, the briefest possible periods being allowed for meals and rest. All the rest of the time, until late at night, he devoted to work. Rarely does an individual submit himself to such a taylorized factory discipline. And so he continued day after day, with no relaxation, theater-going, or anything of the like."



## BACK TO THE FATHERLAND.

MUCH nonsense is talked about Lenin's return to Russia in 1917. Comrade Zinoviev writes in this connection:

"The February Revolution broke out. Comrade Lenin was anxious to return to Russia. But the international bourgeoisie did not want to let him return, knowing that if he appeared in Russia he would at once become the leader of the Russian revolutionary working class. And so we find Miliukoff (then minister for foreign affairs) coming



to an agreement with the British government not to allow Comrade Lenin, nor any of us, to return to Russia.

"We knew very well what an outcry would be raised against us if we travelled through the enemy's country, but there was nothing else to be done. We got into contact with the German Communists, followers of Karl Liebknecht, called together French, Swiss and Swedish Communists, drawing up a protocol in conjunction with them in order to justify us in the eyes of the international working class, whose opinion we highly valued, and determined to travel through Germany if only the government of the kaiser would allow us to. It did allow us. The Germans thought it would be a good thing for them if the Bolsheviks returned to Russia (as we know, they later regretted their complaisance). A mortal struggle was going on between them and the Russian and they thought that everything that might weaken the Russian government would be to their advantage. They did not look very far ahead. Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof, was their motto. In the end we arrived at the Swiss frontier in the famous 'sealed' carriage. Let it be said in passing that it was extremely dirty and occupied by a whole army of bugs, although it was then generally reported that it was luxuriously equipped. But we were overjoyed with the carriage in spite of its discomforts. We were sealed in. Certain Swiss comrades travelled with us to Russia. On the way the German Social Democrats tried to see us; but Comrade Lenin instructed it to be conveyed to them that if they did not want to be insulted they had better not enter our carriage. 'We are,' he told them, 'taking advantage of the services of your government for reasons known to the whole world; but to you Social Democrats we have nothing to say.'

"We arrived at last at the Finnish frontier. During

the whole of the journey Lenin continually said, 'We are making straight for prison.' He was certain that when we arrived in Petrograd we would be arrested by the bourgeois provisional government and be tried for high treason. How great then was our surprise when we arrived at Sestroretsk to see the first group of revolutionary workers who greeted us with the greatest enthusiasm. And when our train arrived at the platform of the Finland station, Lenin was not sent to prison but was given a stormy welcome by the Petrograd working class. But Comrade Lenin was never one of your over-trustful people, and the enthusiastic greeting did not shake his former pessimism. Almost every evening he said: 'Well, they haven't arrested us today, but they will tomorrow.' And in fact the whole White Guard press very soon raised a clamor against us, violently attacking us for having travelled in a sealed carriage. We were called before the Executive Committee of the Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, which was then Menshevik. There we were compelled to wait for three hours until Tchkeidze and his friends, having finished their important business, began to cross-examine us as to how it happened that we travelled through Germany. But we, instead of admitting guilt, acted as the accusers and these gentlemen soon realized that the roles were changed. The matter ended by the Menshevik Executive Committee adopting a resolution justifying our travelling through Germany and announcing in their journal, 'Izvestia,' that the attacks made upon us were entirely unfounded."

Lenin arrived in Petrograd on the night of April 3. Of course the comrades immediately demanded that he should explain his views on the war and the revolution, and as to what was to be done further. Lenin was of the opinion that the most difficult phase was by no means past. He said



that it was easier to overthrow the czarist government than it would be to overthrow the landowners and capitalists.

Feeling that the working class masses were moving towards the left, that they were not satisfied with "a war to a victorious finish," the Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries tried to shield themselves by loud words, asserting that the army was defending the revolution. Very well, said Lenin, the workers may agree to that if the power of government passes into the hands of the workers and the poor peasants, and if we break once and for all with the interests of the capitalists. For this we must preach to the army—that it is impossible to end the war by a real democratic peace without overthrowing capitalism.

What was to be the next step of the revolution?

To this Lenin replied: We are passing from the first step, when the power is in the hands of the bourgeoisie, to the second, when the power should be taken over by the proletariat and the poorest peasantry.

Should we support the provisional government?

Some Bolsheviks were still confused upon this question, which they were inclined to answer in the affirmative. Lenin's reply was: **No support to the provisional government.**

What were we to do in the Soviets, in which we were still in the minority at the time?

Lenin replied: **Criticize, expose their mistakes, urge the need for the passing of the whole power to the council of workers' deputies.**

What kind of a state should we construct?

Lenin replied: **A republic of Soviets—from top to bottom.**

What should we advise the peasants to do?

**To create Soviets, to confiscate and seize the landowners' lands, to organize collective model farming.**

What should be done about the banks?

**All the banks should be amalgamated under the control of the Soviets.**

Should we at once establish socialism, i. e., exclusively socialist forms of economy?

**No, for the time being we should content ourselves with control of public production and distribution.**

How should our party act?

**We should convene a congress, revise the program, amend it, change the name which was besmirched and discredited by the Mensheviks.**

What should we do about the Second International?

**We should form the Third International in opposition to it.**

Such was the first public appearance of Lenin. It made everything perfectly clear. Lenin's theses in April, 1917, furnished precise and clear indications as to what should be done, whither we should go, with whom we should go, what we should aim at, and with whom we should unite.

By July the dissatisfaction of the working class had reached such a pitch that in both capitals the workers were in revolt against the government, and rallying round our Bolshevik demands; they were joined by a section of the Soviets. The movement, however, was still not strong enough to make it possible to overthrow the power of the Cadets, the Mensheviks, and the Socialist Revolutionaries, but it demonstrated that forces were growing and gathering round the Bolshevik Party capable of taking power into their own hands.

Meanwhile the counter-revolution in Russia in the shape of the Cadets and the Socialist Revolutionaries were attempting to crush the growing strength of the Bolsheviks. These gentlemen are now offended. They accuse



us of violently suppressing their lying bourgeois newspapers, but forgot that they closed down "Pravda" in 1917 and not only closed down "Pravda," but arrested many members of our Central Committee—Trotsky, Kamenev and others.



### LENIN GOES INTO HIDING.

THE government, alarmed by these movements, accused our party of organizing armed uprisings and began to persecute our prominent Bolsheviks. The question arose as to whether Lenin and Zinoviev should go to prison. Quite recently Comrade Sergo Ordzhonikidze related to me that when Vladimir Ilyitch was told that the lawyer, N. D. Sokolov, in the Taurida Palace, was spreading rumors to the effect that Lenin was a provocateur, Lenin declared: "I shall go to prison and prove that they are lying." But the comrades at last realized what a false step this would be. There is not the slightest doubt that the Kerensky government would have destroyed Lenin as the German government of the social democrats, Scheidemann, Ebert and Noske, destroyed the German Communists, Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht. At one time negotiations were actually being conducted to the effect that Lenin would allow himself to be arrested if he would be placed in the Peter and Paul fortress (the garrison in

the Peter and Paul fortress was on our side and we were convinced that the soldiers would not tolerate any act of violence against Vladimir Ilyitch). But the provisional government would not consent to this. And so at last it was decided that Lenin and Zinoviev should go into hiding. And it was a good thing that they did so. Within a week Lenin said to Zinoviev:

"How could we have been so stupid as to think for a minute of trusting ourselves to those bandits and allowing ourselves to be arrested! Merciless war on the bandits—there is no other way."

Comrade Emelyanov, a worker, at first took them to the "Razliv" Station where he had his lodging. Vladimir Ilyitch and Zinoviev took up their quarters in the loft of a stable which until then had been used for storing hay, where they at first remained. They were obliged to disguise themselves, cut their hair, Vladimir Ilyitch his beard and moustache, and meanwhile more convenient quarters were being sought. The following idea was then thought of: it was the time of the hay harvest; why should not Lenin and Zinoviev pretend to be mowers and go haymaking, especially since after disguising themselves and having cut their hair they looked very much like harvesters? Lenin and Zinoviev approved of the idea and went haymaking near Lake "Razliv." There they felt much freer. In order to get there they were obliged to travel four versts by water and about one and one-half versts through the woods.

There the permanent population consisted of agricultural laborers, among whom, of course, Lenin could live much more securely. It must not be forgotten that at that time the huge sum of 200,000 gold roubles was placed upon Lenin's head and all the available two-footed and four-footed hounds were in hot chase after him. There were



many volunteers among the bourgeoisie, the Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries who were only too ready to betray Lenin to destruction.

There at "Razliv" a hut was built and covered with hay, a kettle was set upon a stake for boiling tea over a fire, and thus in a cabin on a marsh the leaders of the world revolution, after the July days, set up their military camp. This was the field headquarters of Lenin from which he continued to lead the revolution, and there, with great caution, the comrades used to come. Almost every day Vladimir Ilyitch was engaged in writing articles. From his hut he controlled the revolution as he had controlled it from prison, as he had controlled it from abroad, and as later he controlled it from the Smolny and the Kremlin.

Indefatigably he called for preparations for the uprising. While in July he had said that it was impossible to take power, after the Kornilov days, he hurried on the workers so that it should not be too late. The Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries, after we had overthrown their futile government, were annoyed with us because we refused to share the revolution with them. After the July days Lenin had proposed to them not exactly an alliance, but an agreement, but they had not the sense to seize the opportunity. It would be truer to say that they feared the proletarian revolution far more than they did the victory of the bourgeoisie. That is why they dallied with the bourgeoisie until they were overthrown by the working class.

## OCTOBER, 1917.

WHEN, after the Kornilov days, the so-called Democratic Conference gathered in Petrograd, Lenin, knowing that the Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries were incapable of revolutionary action, wrote a letter to the Central Committee of our party in which he said: "We have dallied long enough; we must surround the Alexander (the Democratic Conference was meeting in the Alexander Theater), disperse this scum and take power into our own hands."

The Central Committee of our party at that time did not agree with Comrade Lenin. In the opinion of the majority of the members of the Central Committee the time had not yet come; they thought that the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries were strong enough to deal with the revolution. Lenin was already at that time living in Finland, for to continue in the marsh in the autumn cold and rain was impossible. And indeed more than once was he soaked through by the autumn drizzle, and the time spent in the marshes of "Razliv" shortened his life by more days than one.

When he saw that the Central Committee of our party was vacillating, and that there was a possibility of the cause being lost, he abandoned all thought of danger, came to Petrograd, and raised the question of an immediate uprising. In September Lenin still thought a more peaceful issue to the revolution possible. In an article entitled, "The Task of the Revolution," he set forth the following



program: "No agreement of any kind with the capitalists, land to the toilers, war on famine and disintegration, war on the counter-revolutionary landowners and capitalists, peaceful development of the revolution.

In this article he describes what forces were to accomplish the revolution, namely, the proletariat and the petty-bourgeois masses of our country, chiefly the peasantry:

Russia is a petty-bourgeois country. The overwhelming majority of the population belong to this class. Vacillation between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat is inevitable. Only by securing their alliance with the proletariat would the victory of the cause of revolution, the cause of peace and freedom, and the distribution of land to the toilers be guaranteed in any easy, peaceful, rapid and quiet manner.

The course of our revolution demonstrates this vacillation in practice. We will not allow ourselves to be deluded by the Socialist Revolutionary and Menshevik Parties; we shall stick firmly to the path of the proletarian class. The distress of the poor peasants, the horrors of war, and the horrors of famine are demonstrating to the masses more and more clearly the correctness of the proletarian path and the necessity for supporting the proletarian revolution.

He was then of the opinion that if the Soviets took power into their own hands, there would still be a chance of guaranteeing the peaceful development of the revolution, the peaceful conflict of parties within the Soviets, the correction of the programs of the various parties in practice, the peaceful transference of power from the hands of one party to another.

But at the same time he foresaw that this would not be the case, that it was more likely that the revolution would pursue a more difficult path.

The danger at that time was great. In order to save itself, the Kerensky government was ready to surrender Petrograd to the Germans. Everybody knew that preparations were being made to deliver the capital into the hands of the Germans. Lenin hurried his letters to the Central Committee, the Petrograd Committee and the Moscow Committee. He wrote:

"Why should the Bolsheviks take power precisely at this moment? Because the pending surrender of Petrograd will render our chances a hundred times worse.

The people are tired of the vacillation of the Mensheviks and the Socialist Revolutionaries. Only our triumph in the capitals will bring the peasants over to our side.

"There is no talk of the 'day' of the uprising, nor of the 'moment' of the uprising in the narrow sense of the word. This will be determined only by the general opinion of those who are in close contact with the workers and soldiers and with the masses.

"The question is to make the task clear to the party, to put on the order of the day the armed uprising in Petrograd and Moscow, the conquest of power, the overthrow of the government. We must think how to agitate for this, without giving expression to it in the press.

"Remember, think of the words of Marx: Revolution is an art." etc.

"Perhaps power should be seized in Moscow and Petrograd (it is not important which begins); Moscow even might begin; that we shall triumph is beyond a doubt."

Even before the July days Lenin drew up a kind of thesis for agitation among the peasants. Criticizing the provisional government, he wrote bitterly:

For land, wait until the constituent assembly; from the constituent assembly wait until the end of the war; That's what it comes to. The capitalists and landowners



who have the majority in the government are simply laughing at the expense of the poor peasants."

Lenin saw how the peasant movement was growing, how it surged higher and higher, and how our supporters in the army, and especially in the fleet were gathering closer and closer around us. Lenin was afraid that we might let the opportune moment slip.

And when he saw that the Central Committee was still vacillating, Lenin sent a letter to our two largest organizations, the Petrograd Committee and the Moscow Committee, in which he wrote:

"Procrastination is criminal. To await the congress of Soviets would be a childish playing with formalities, a betrayal of the revolution. Since power cannot be seized without revolution, we must make a revolution at once. Our slogans should be: All power to the Soviets, land to the peasants, peace to the people, bread to the hungry. Victory is certain. To delay would be to commit a crime against the revolution."

And in spite of the fact that many of the members of the Central Committee were against the immediate seizure of power, against an uprising, Lenin was able to convince or subdue those who wavered and to rally around him men who were decided, bold, and ready for anything, not fearing the most difficult obstacles and prepared and capable of overcoming them. Like an experienced commander he calculated what were the forces at his disposal and whether the fight would be protracted. He did not then move blindly; on the contrary, he reflected seriously and constantly on the difficulties which would arise on the day following the revolution. He paid special attention to the question as to whether the Bolsheviks would be able to maintain power; on this subject he wrote a book in which he demonstrated by accurate calculations that we should

be able to keep the power of government in our hands. Long before November 7 he had marked out the basic plan for our future work and the various changes which would take place in that unprecedented revolution in the world's history, the first revolution brought about by the proletariat and in such a backward country as Russia with its overwhelming majority of peasant population. Lenin led the proletariat with a firm hand along the path to the seizure of power and to the creation of the first workers' state in the world. The idea of this state he has set forth in his book called, "The State and Revolution," which every worker and every class conscious peasant should read. When Lenin left his hut in the marsh where he had concealed himself during the July days, he went into hiding in Finland. There, among other matters, he was occupied with this book. His teaching of the state is a scientific exposition and explanation of the revolution which has been accomplished by the proletariat in our country.

There is not the slightest doubt that if our party had hesitated at that moment, we should have been placed in a most difficult position and have been obliged to make the most heavy sacrifices. The remarkable penetration and foresight of Comrade Lenin determined the exact moment beyond which we dared not delay. Either we take power at once into our hands or we shall be crushed. Lenin was able to overcome the waverers by his iron will, he was able to concentrate in the one main task. Even as early as the beginning of April, when he first arrived in the capital, he realized how the forces were to be gathered; first, a majority was to be won in the workers' Soviets, the the soldiers at the front and in the capital were to be won over and then the vacillating peasantry were to be brought over to our side. In October he saw how these masses were coming out openly into the street; he saw that if the proletariat



did not take up the fight, if it did not assume the leadership of the movement, the movement would pass out of the hands of the proletariat and perhaps would be crushed. We should then have had what happened in Germany, what recently happened in Bulgaria, what happened in Hungary and what happened in Finland after the revolution was crushed; vengeance reaped upon the workers, rivers of bloodshed, and the proletariat crushed.

Everybody knows now that the military generals were preparing, acting in conjunction with the Socialist Revolutionaries, to crush the Bolsheviks; but they were not strong enough. He did not hide in October, we openly called for revolution; that everybody remembers.

On November 7, power in the capital passed into the hands of the Council of Workers' Deputies.

Of course, Lenin was not the only leader of the October Revolution; nevertheless no one but he had so clear and definite a conception of what the revolution meant. Nobody led the masses into the revolution so firmly as Lenin did. In the collection of articles called "Lenin," we read of the conversation Lenin conducted with Kornstadt by telephone. Lenin called upon the military units of the army and navy to come to the assistance of the capital. He talked with a comrade from the Baltic Fleet. He told him what the situation in the capital was and asked him whether he could not immediately send a large number of destroyers and other armed vessels to Petrograd. And when the comrade from the Baltic Fleet asked: "And what next?" Lenin replied: "Instead of the question what next, I expected to hear you declare your willingness to prepare for action." When Comrade Mikhaelov, chairman of the Regional Committee of the Finnish Military Department informed him how many armed men ready for action he could send along and to what point, Lenin asked: "And

can you guarantee also to supply them with food?" Lenin at that moment was not only the leader, he was not only the military commander, but he thought with alarm of the fate of the soldiers who were coming to defend the revolution; whether they would be fed, whether they would be guaranteed necessary supplies.

Not every man would think of such things as such a moment.

If the revolution of November, 1917, was triumphant, it was because Lenin was able to select the moment and to assemble the military forces required for the revolution.

The first act of the new government was to issue the decrees on land and on peace.

Decades will pass; centuries will pass; life on the earth will change; the relics of the capitalist order will disappear; the Soviet state will be transformed; many of the existing organs, many of the existing laws, will become unnecessary and obsolete. Peoples will learn to govern themselves, to regulate their economic life, without a multiplicity of state institutions and without a state, as Lenin taught. The state power as such will become obsolete, i. e., unnecessary. But through the lapse of centuries it will be impossible to read without emotion the story of those great and heroic days; it will be impossible to read those decrees on the land and on peace without profound emotion. For centuries the struggle between the peasants and the landowners has proceeded, for centuries the nobles lived upon the backs of their millions of slaves. The November revolution flared up and the order of nobles disappeared. The imperialist war shackled millions of people with oppressive treaties. It seemed that the people were powerless to combat the bloody rule that prevailed on the fronts. But the attempt had to be made. How jealousy sounded the word peace in November, 1917, while human blood was being



mingled with mud on the plains of Europe. We did not then succeed in putting a stop to this frightful madness, but we did succeed in saving hundreds of thousands of people who were dying for the sake of capitalism. This was the first proletarian revolution, and its organizer, its inspirer, its leader, was Lenin.

### BREST-LITOVSK.

LENIN correctly foresaw that our main difficulties would commence after we had seized power; and indeed the difficulties were evident on the very first day.

When we now look back and remember what the toiling masses of our country, the workers and peasants, suffered during these years, it is difficult to believe that anybody could have lived through it.

But now it is quite clear that the workers and peasants were able to make these great sacrifices because they realized that they were after all defending their own cause. To the appeal issued by the Soviet government, in the very first days of the October revolution, the governments of the entente failed to respond. They persisted their motto, "a fight to a finish." Should we also have fought the war "to a victorious finish?" It is now perfectly clear that if we had attempted to do so we should not have been able to maintain the Soviet state and would inevitably have been dragged into supporting the capitalists of one country against another. Russia perhaps might have been victorious, but it would not have been Soviet Russia but some military Denikin or Kornilov Russia. It was necessary to have done with the imperialist war, and so negotiations were undertaken with the Germans at Brest-Litovsk.

Sharp differences existed in our party on that subject. When the Germans put forward their extortionate demands, general indignation was aroused. But so tired were the people of the war, that in many places the peasants would

not even hear of its continuation. Division after division came from the front, abandoning tremendous quantities of military material and leaving the front unprotected. No severity could prevent this terrible melting away of the fronts. The peasants could not and would not fight any more. Of course, even among the peasantry and among the soldiers at the front there was a section which would not consent to throwing themselves at the mercy of the German government. Nevertheless the advocacy of a revolutionary war also conveyed no meaning to them.

There was a section of the Communists—at that time called "left Communists"—and they included a certain number of members of our Central Committee—at one time a fairly large number—who considered that to sign the peace of Brest-Litovsk would be tantamount to a betrayal of the revolution. They argued that by so doing, we should help to improve the position of the German government and thereby postpone the revolutionary outbreak in Germany. There were others who thought that a peace such as the Germans proposed would be a shameful and "indecent" peace for Russia. The left Communists therefore declared themselves opposed to the peace of Brest-Litovsk and preached a revolutionary war. But since the right Socialist Revolutionaries and the left Socialist Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks and the Cadets were also against the Brest-Litovsk peace, the left Communists, so to speak, fell out of the frying pan into the fire.

But the greatest mistake of the left Communists was that they did not understand and did not even see how tired the peasants were of the war; they failed to take this weariness into account and underrated the importance of the peasantry in the revolution.

Comrade Trotsky also at that time occupied a peculiar position. "Don't conclude peace and don't carry on the



war," he advocated. He was then conducting negotiations at Brest-Litovsk on behalf of the Soviet government. In his opinion it was impossible to accept the terms of peace proposed by the Germans and he therefore declared that we would never sign such a peace. But meanwhile our troops were becoming disintegrated and the old army was losing all power of resistance. Comrade Trotsky declared in the name of the government that the war would not be carried on.

Lenin considered that we were losing time in vain and giving the Germans the opportunity of making more exacting demands. We must secure breathing space at all costs, and therefore we must sign the peace. Were we knights or nobles that the peace should be shameful for us? We, as workers and peasants, must consider the question from this point of view: were we able to go on with the war in view of the incredible weariness of the people and the collapse of our peasant agriculture?

Subsequent history proved that Lenin was right. He was right because he saw, felt and understood better than any of us what was the mood of the peasantry and of the army and he understood better than any of us what would be the next stage of the revolution in other countries. That is why he persuaded the other members of our party to agree to the demobilization of the army.

At that time we were convinced that the Socialist revolution in the west was only a matter of a few days. It was therefore very difficult for us to give way.

But Lenin taught us:

"We must know how to retreat. It is, of course, a bitter phrase. We must say, 'God' grant that we can retreat in semi-order,' for **retreat in complete order we cannot.** 'God' grant that we can retreat in semi-order, that we gain at least a brief breathing space in which the sick part of

our organism can heal a little. The organism on the whole is healthy, it will overcome its sickness immediately and we cannot expect an army in flight to be rallied at once."

Nobody in those days was able to tell us the brutal truth as Lenin could. But it was the brutal truth of a man who did not despair of the revolution: it was the brutal and bitter truth of a man who saw beyond defeat and beyond temporary retreat the approach of new days and the triumph of the revolution.



### WOUNDED.

THE bourgeois hatred of the proletarian revolution revealed itself most strongly in the hatred displayed towards Lenin by the bourgeois party which had suffered bankruptcy in the revolution—the party of the right Socialist Revolutionaries. It is now definitely known that the right Socialist revolutionaries planned to destroy the Communists with the help of the czarist generals, but were not strong enough to do so. When the Socialist Revolutionary Maslov called upon his party to organize fighting units, in place of the thousands who were expected to answer the call, only a few hundred appeared and these were too feeble to injure the Soviet power or the Communist Party. They then began to conspire with representatives of foreign governments against Soviet Russia. They conspired with the Czechoslovakians that the latter should occupy the Volga district, seize the Siberian Railway, and so cut off Siberia. They placed Koltchak on the Siberian throne and assisted various czarist generals to seize grain, oil and coal regions; they organized the blowing-up and the burning of our stores and thought they could exhaust our party by hunt-



ing down our most prominent workers. Thus, the talented young Communist Volodarski, who by his fiery words could inflame the hearts of the workers, was assassinated by the right Socialist Revolutionaries. The Socialist Revolutionaries lay in wait for him as he was returning from a meeting of workers, and murdered him. They organized an attempt upon the life of Comrade Trotsky, planning to wreck his train, but failed. They murdered our old Comrade Uritsky, whom they regarded as responsible for the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly and for the prosecution of the White Guard conspirators. They organized several uprisings in Yaroslav, in Murom, and in other places. With the aid of the czarist generals, they cut off the Ukraine, the Kuban, the Don, Siberia and the Volga regions. They hemmed us in on all sides, both from the sea and land, and hoped thereby to ruin our country. But Lenin worried them most of all. On him all their hatred was concentrated; they pursued him with a view to assassinating him.

The summer of 1918 was an extremely difficult one. The industrial districts were in the throes of famine. The capitalist, Ryabushinsky, boasted: "We will throttle them with the skinny hand of famine." We made no concealment of the difficulty of our situation, and indeed why should we? On the contrary, in our most difficult moments we always turned to the working class masses, and in this respect Lenin set us an example. He could not live without attending crowded meetings to speak to the workers and peasants. He considered it necessary to tell the workers the brutal truth.

At that time in Moscow, meetings called Friday Meetings, were held and on August 30 such meetings were held everywhere.

Lenin went to attend such a meeting at the factory which formerly belonged to Mikhelson in the Zamoskvoret-

sky district. Here, lying in wait for him, was a member of the right Socialist Revolutionary Party, Fanny Kaplan, intending to murder the man whose heart beat with strong love for all toilers and with yet stronger hatred for all enemies of the workers and peasants. She carried a revolver loaded with bullets which had been blunted and tainted with a deadly poison (curare), in order the more surely to destroy the leader of the workers and peasants. In the petty brain of this member of a degenerate and bankrupt party, which had gone over completely to the side of counter-revolution, lurked the monstrous thought of depriving Lenin of life. How Lenin was wounded is described by Comrade Ivanov, a worker in the Mikhelson factory, who arrested Fanny Kaplan.

"When Ilyitch moved to the door he was preceded by several workers and followed by a tremendous crowd. As he mounted the stair-case—the staircase was outside the building and consists of about 20 steps—there walked behind him a sailor of the Black Sea Fleet. This man stumbled and fell, with the result that the crowd was not able to keep up with Ilyitch. There was a stop. Ilyitch went out and with him about 15 to 20 workers. As he entered the courtyard of the factory, where the automobile stood, two women standing at the door addressed him, asking him to explain to them about some flour which had been taken from them on the railway. Ilyitch answered them without stopping, and they accompanied him to the automobile. Here he turned his face towards them; his foot was already on the footboard. While he was talking, Kaplan, who stood near to the automobile and about four paces from him in front of Ilyitch, fired four shots. He fell unconscious and motionless. They laid him in the automobile and ordered him to be taken to the Kremlin."

Lenin's conditions was at first extremely serious. His



lung had been hit, one bullet had lodged in the collar bone and one had passed through his neck, just missing his spine. The bullets had been poisoned and blunted. But for his iron constitution Lenin would have succumbed to these wounds.

But he recovered. His wounds healed and he returned to his work. He displayed the greatest fortitude during his illness and as soon as the danger passed he demanded to be made fully acquainted with affairs and informed of the most important events, so that he might all the sooner return to his work.

It would be vain to think that after this Lenin paid any greater attention to his safety. He attended workers' meetings and all manner of congresses and conferences of the workers and peasants just as freely and gladly.



### FAMINE AND FOOD REQUISITIONS.

IN May, 1918, a delegation from the workers of the Putilov Works came to see Lenin and gave him a detailed description of the famine in Petrograd. And, indeed, did Lenin not know even without the report of the delegation, how difficult was the life of the workers at that period? In reply to the Petrograd workers, Lenin wrote a letter in which he demonstrated that without a system of rationing, without keeping a careful account of every ounce of bread we possessed, we should be ruined. He wrote:

"On all hands we see speculation in bread and other articles of food. The famine is not due to the fact that there is no grain in Russia, but to the fact that the bourgeoisie and all other wealthy people are making a last decisive stand against the rule of the toilers, against the workers'

state and against the Soviet power. The bourgeoisie and all wealthy people, including the rich peasants of the villages, the kulaks, are breaking the bread monopoly and hindering the distribution of bread by the state which is intended to secure supply of bread for the whole population, and first and foremost to the workers, the toilers and the needy.

"Either the class conscious advanced workers triumph, and having rallied the mass of the poor, and established iron discipline, a pitiless government, a real dictatorship of the proletariat, compelling the kulaks to submit; introduce a just distribution of food and fuel throughout the country, or the bourgeoisie, with the direct aid of the kulaks and the indirect aid of characterless and futile people (the anarchists and the left Socialist Revolutionaries), with overthrow the Soviet power and introduce a Russo-German or a Russo-Japanese Kornilov who will impose upon the people a 16-hour working day, a one-eighth pound bread ration per week, mass shooting of workers, and prison tortures such as are taking place in Finland and the Ukraine."

Either, or. . .

There is no halfway course.

Lenin called upon the workers to undertake the work of food distribution; he declared that a great crusade must be launched against the bread speculators, the kulaks, the destroyers of peace and disturbers of order, and against corruption and bribery; a great crusade for the maintenance of strict state discipline in the matter of collecting, transporting and distributing supplies both for men and machines.

He knew that "when the people are starving, when unemployment is assuming increasingly menacing proportions, a man who steals a pood of flour, who robs the



government of a pood of fuel is an arrant criminal."

Hard as these measures were, they meant in the long run the salvation of the peasants, too, for without these measures the workers would not have been able to maintain transport even at the level at which it then was.



## THE NEW ECONOMIC POLICY (NEP).

TOWARDS the end of 1920, the inevitability of the new economic policy became apparent. It was in fact the transition from war to peace, and the transition was an unusually difficult one.

On March 8, 1921, at the Tenth Party Congress, Lenin admitted that the "transition was accompanied by upheavals such as we were far from anticipating." He said:

"I must admit that at that time (i. e., in December, 1920) we had very little conception of the extent of these difficulties nor the extent to which the miseries of the Soviet Republic, which was exhausted both by the old imperialists and the new civil war, would be increased during the process of demobilization.

"The country for many years had concentrated exclusively on military aims, it had devoted its resources to these aims and had not spared the last remnants of its modest reserves—and only when the war ended did we realize the full extent of the destruction of poverty which for many years we shall be compelled to devote ourselves simply to healing wounds. But even we cannot devote ourselves wholly to healing our wounds."

Lenin never feared to admit his errors. He considered that the first essential condition for success is to recognize one's mistakes. This he has frequently empha-

sized in his speeches and articles and whenever occasion arose to review the past. At every party congress in reviewing past work, he noted the errors we had committed. So here too, reviewing the military period of our work, he pointed out, first, that we had failed to appreciate the extent of the difficulties with which the conclusion of the military period of the revolution was associated—the difficulty of demobilization; and secondly, that we had incorrectly estimated "the relation of forces between our class and the classes with which we are co-operating, a relation which may determine the fate of our republic even during warfare.

Lenin asked, were the errors inevitable? He replied in the affirmative. Under the circumstances in which we were fighting the errors were certainly inevitable. He said: "On the other hand, we were in such a tight corner that we were left with no other choice. . . . Of course, in view of the textent of the destruction, our country could not do otherwise than take the surplus of food from the peasants even without compensating them. This was necessary in order to save the country, the army and the workers' and peasants' government."

One of the most serious tasks of the New Economic Policy which Lenin indicated was the clear realization of the fact that we were not on the eve of an immediate and direct attack upon the stronghold of capitalism (of course, we must be prepared for even that, if events in Western Europe so developed that the attack upon the capitalist stronghold became possible). We must be prepared for the slow and protracted conquest of petty-bourgeois economy.

The second task was to establish a bond between our socialist economy, our state industry, our Soviet economic order and the economic life of the peasants, so that we



might be able to raise peasant economy to its feet, to improve it, to increase its productivity, and to make it more profitable both for the peasant and for the state, and thus bring the peasant to realize that the proletariat is indeed capable of bringing him a better future.

The third task of the New Economic Policy was that we should understand that Communist society can be built up only if we attract all the forces necessary for the work. This task consists chiefly in being able to select people, to attract as many non-party peasants and workers as possible to the work of Communist construction and Soviet economy.

But the fundamental political task in this transitional period which may prove to be a very protracted one, and during which the proletarian revolution in Western Europe is ripening is to retain power in the hands of the proletariat. We must maintain power not as an aim in itself. The proletariat does not desire to rule for the sake of ruling. On the contrary, the proletariat is interested in destroying all rule, including its own. The proletariat is interested in reconstructing society so that classes will no longer exist and all will be toilers equally. The proletariat needs power as a means for reconstructing society. We need a proletarian government at this moment in order to develop our heavy machine industry, "in order to develop electrification, water and peat power, to complete the construction of the Volkhov Power Station, etc."

Such were the behests of Lenin. His first and last thoughts always centered around how to unite peasant and proletariat in order to attain final victory.

Lenin laid the question of the New Economic Policy not only before us, but also before the Communist Parties of Western Europe, before the whole Communist International. On November 13, 1922, at the Fourth World

Congress of the Communist International, Lenin reported on the subject: "Five Years of Russian Revolution and the Prospects of World Revolution." He reminded the West European comrades that they were preparing for a direct attack upon capitalism at an early date, but that they must, however, be prepared for the fact that retreat may be necessary. They must, therefore, at once cover that retreat. He said:

"In my opinion this question deserves attention not only from the point of view of Russia, which to this day remains a backward country, but also from the point of view of the Communist International and of the progressive West European countries. All the more so since we have almost entirely neglected to consider the question of a possible retreat and of how to cover that retreat. In the cause of the reconstruction of the world, the destruction of capitalism, and the creation of a socialist order, we must be prepared for such eventualities. It is not enough to plan how to act when we attack and are victorious. During a revolutionary period that is not so difficult, indeed it is not so important, at least it is not the most important. During a revolutionary period there are moments when the enemy loses his head, and if we attack we may easily succeed. But that is not enough, for our enemy, if he has sufficient resistance, may rapidly rally his forces. He can easily provoke us into attack and then throw the movement back for many years. That is why I think that the idea that we should be prepared for a possible defeat is a very important one, not merely theoretically, but practically also; that is why I consider that this question should be thought out by the parties which are preparing for a direct attack upon capitalism in the near future so that they may be able to plan how to cover a possible retreat. If we learn this lesson, together with those other lessons which are to



be derived from our revolution, it will not only not be harmful, but most likely be extremely useful.

Lenin, being the chairman of the Council of Peoples' Commissars, i. e., the head of the government, could not act as chairman of the Communist International. But everybody knows that while he lived Lenin was the chief leader and the main inspiration of the Comintern. When we read his speeches and his letters addressed to the workers of all countries, we realize what a tremendous part he played in the creation of this international organization of workers. His chief service as the creator and leader of the Comintern lay in his bringing a large number of important and vital questions to the attention of the workers of the world. It was Lenin who introduced the workers of the world to the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat, not as a far-off aim, but as an immediate task. One should have seen the childish and personal delight with which he greeted every victory and success in whatever country it occurred. How delighted he was with the triumph of the Hungarian proletariat and how he hoped that the Hungarian proletariat would succeed in avoiding a number of errors of which we had been guilty! He supported the revolution in Germany in every possible way, because he realized the tremendous importance of the seizure of power by the German proletariat. And in those countries where the seizure of power and the dictatorship of the proletariat were more or less matters of the remote future, he pointed out to the workers of these countries how this great and difficult task could most easily, directly and painlessly be approached. It was Lenin who pointed out to the international proletariat that in a backward country where the peasantry is still a great factor, the task is to create popular Soviets, to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat

and the peasantry, and form a government of workers and peasants.

Lenin brought the question of the New Economic Policy (NEP) before the international proletariat; at the Fourth Congress of the Comintern he pointed out that the working class in other countries must take our errors and our experiences into account and adopt the path of the NEP, but of course, in conformity with the peculiarities of each individual country. Lenin helped the Comintern to create at least a small but consolidated group of Communists in every country; Lenin helped to choose from the workers who were tending towards anarchism and syndicalism, such as were loyal to the proletarian revolution and who in the process of the struggle were capable of correcting their errors. It was Lenin who laid before the workers of all countries the full scope and meaning of the national and colonial question, i. e., the question of our relation to the oppressed nationalities, the Negroes, the Hindus, the Chinese, the Koreans, etc., about whom the Second International was silent and the oppression of whom it condoned and still condones.

Lenin was able to gain for the Communist International the sympathy and love of all oppressed nationalities, to make it a union not only of the advanced workers of Western Europe and the United States, but also of the masses of peasants, workers and poor artisans of the backward countries of Africa, Asia, and North and South America who have only just been awakened to the significance of life and struggle.

That is why the importance of Lenin was so great, in this international organization, that is why his death has called forth the genuine grief of the workers of all countries, that is why the opinion of all Communist parties regarding Comrade Lenin is so unanimous. That is why, too,



the manifesto of the Executive Committee of the Communist International issued on the death of Lenin, calls him the immortal leader of the Communist International.

It was on behalf of us all that Comrade Stalin, said:

"Lenin never regarded the Soviet republic as an aim in itself. He regarded it as an essential link in the strengthening of the revolutionary movement in the countries of the West and the East, an essential link for facilitating the triumph of the workers of the world over capitalism.

"Lenin knew that this attitude was right not only from an international point of view, but also from the point of view of the preservation of the Soviet Republic itself. Lenin knew that only thus could the hearts of the toilers of the world be inflamed with the desire to engage in decisive struggle for emancipation. That is why this most gifted of the gifted leaders of the proletariat as soon as the proletarian dictatorship was established, proceeded to the foundation of the workers, international. That is why he was never tired of extending and strengthening the union of the toilers of the world—the Communist International.

"During these last two days we have seen hundreds of thousands of workers coming on pilgrimage to the bier of Comrade Lenin. We shall shortly see the representatives of million of toilers coming on pilgrimage to Lenin's tomb. You may be certain that the representatives of millions will be followed from all parts of the earth, who will come to bear witness that Lenin was the leader, not only of the Russian proletariat, not only of the European workers, not only of the colonial East, but of all toilers of the globe.

"Lenin, in departing from us, has entrusted to us the principles of the Communist International. We swear to you, Comrade Lenin, that we shall devote our lives to strengthening and extending the union of the toilers of the world—the Communist International!"

## LENIN THE COMRADE, LENIN THE FRIEND, AND LENIN THE WORKER.

MANY things will be written and many thousands of people will talk of Lenin, of his doings, his words, and his deeds. But even those who have never met Lenin, who have never seen him or spoken with him, who have never had any direct contact with him, felt his power. What was the secret of his influence which was felt in the most out-of-the-way corners of the earth? It was that Lenin managed to be a really great leader and at the same time to remain a simple, comprehensible man, kin to the most ignorant peasant and the most backward worker.

He was extraordinarily simple in everything he did. When Lenin spoke to the workers or peasants, his speech was not beyond the scope of the vocabulary of the mujik and the worker. He spoke a simple language, without strain or affectation, and it always seemed to the workers and peasants that Lenin guessed their thoughts, that he was speaking of that which they themselves were thinking.

Wherein lies the secret of this tremendous influence over the workers and peasants? It lies in the fact that Lenin knew how to listen to the voice of the workers and peasants. The Mensheviks have frequently remarked that Lenin knew how to issue very simple slogans which the people were capable of understanding. This, in fact, was one of Lenin's strong points: he knew how to select a simple and comprehensible slogan which united millions of people, a comprehensible call for a clearly defined purpose. From conversation with individual workers, from chance talks with peasant men and peasant women, Lenin was able to guess, to sense what the people were thinking, what interested them and what troubled them. In order to under-



stand such people he would sometimes speak for hours with the sixteen-year-old son of the worker, Emelyanov, who was an anarchist, and regarded himself as being more left than Lenin. From a conversation with a Finnish peasant woman, who said that there was no need to fear a certain man with a rifle, because that man with the rifle was a Red Guard, Lenin sensed how the peasantry regarded the Red Guard. How often did workers and peasants come to Moscow in their great need! They knew that if they "got to Lenin," if they wrote to him, Lenin would do something. He would listen to them and would help them. When Lenin spoke to the workers and peasants, they felt that he was speaking from his heart, that he was laying before them his intimate thoughts and ideas.

But surpassing all this, was Lenin's extraordinary modesty. Those who know how he lived abroad must admit that in Soviet Russia, when he became president of that vast Soviet Republic, one-sixth of the territory of the globe, when he was chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, he lived in the same simple manner, a simplicity with which no president of any other republic lives or has ever lived.

In his apartment in the Kremlin the most extreme simplicity prevailed. Lenin lived just like a skilled, comparatively better paid worker. A simple oilcloth covered the table, the dining room was small and narrow, with plain flower pots on the window-sills. The bedroom was severe, without decoration of any kind and the blankets were plain, almost like soldiers' blankets. The same simplicity was maintained in his clothing. Lenin was often to be seen with patched boots and threadbare jacket. He was not content with talking of economy; he was sparing of every kopeck of the Soviet government. In no one were these external qualities so closely bound up with internal modesty as with Lenin. It was not the humility which, it

is said, is more akin to pride. Such humility he never possessed. There was, indeed, a sort of pride in his modesty, but his modesty itself was natural and simple. The peasants remember how he came to the First Congress of Peasants' Soviets, almost unnoticed, in a threadbare overcoat; you would hardly pay any attention to him, the peasants said.

Everybody has observed his great care for the needs of his comrades, and this too was the result of Lenin's extreme simplicity. Everybody knows that he not only knew how to listen to a comrade, but that he never forgot that it was sometimes necessary to do something for a comrade. Everybody who came into close contact with Lenin became aware of this characteristic. I think that at least half an hour of Lenin's time was spent on an average every day in attending to the needs of some comrade or other, arranging for living quarters for him, or, if he were sick, for medical attention. He insisted that we should look after the health of comrades who had broken down, he was always sending some comrade off for a rest or to feed up, or arranging cures for comrades who were suffering from overwork and overfatigue. He overworked himself in the care of others, but he appeared to do so without strain or difficulty.

Lenin's work was immeasurable. When we examine now all he did, all he wrote and thought, one feels that there is no sphere or corner of our work which Lenin has not illuminated with his creative mind, which has not received direction from him, which does not bear the mark of his genius. It is difficult to imagine how one man could do all this work alone. It is true that he was unsparing of his mental energies, that he burned himself out in a slow fire. He was the chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, the permanent chairman of the Political Bureau, the real chairman of the Council of Labor and De-



fense; he was the chief reporter at all party congresses and every question at the congresses of Soviets was subjected to his examination; considered by him and tested by him, he endowed it with his initiative and his creative thought. He saw to the execution of every decision that was taken, he would go into details, he would investigate everything. But all this required a superhuman exercise of brain, nerves and of the whole organism. And indeed, Lenin wore out his organism in 54 years. Perhaps that powerful personality would have survived for another twenty or thirty years. If Lenin, five or six years ago, had been asked which he preferred, to work as he worked, with the concentration of every ounce of energy and to sacrifice every drop of his blood for another five or six years, or to work at a normal rate for 15 to 20 years, he would certainly have chosen the former.

The great force of attraction which Lenin exercised lay in his extraordinary endurance, his insistence upon principle, i. e., his ability to insist upon the important and fundamental in the teaching of Communism. One may give way in trifles, one must know how to maneuver and to retreat, **BUT NOT GIVE WAY ON FUNDAMENTALS.** This is how he treated the problem of Petrograd at the time of the seizure of power: "We must **AT ALL COSTS** seize and retain the telegraph stations, the telephone stations, the railway stations and above all, the bridges; **LET EVERYTHING PERISH, BUT THE ENEMY MUST NOT BE ALLOWED TO GET THROUGH.**"

At such moments, indeed, Lenin did not know what it was to retreat. His endurance and fidelity to principle were more than once tested in practice when the whole party was vacillating, when certain of its leaders doubted and wavered. Lenin never hesitated to break with a comrade if in his opinion, that comrade was hindering the cause of the proletariat. That was why he was so often

regarded as a sectarian, an extremely intolerant man, a fanatic. His opinion was that if the path he had taken was right, it was not such a terrible matter to remain alone for a time, provided only that he was convinced that the path he had chosen was the right one. He was sure he would convince millions of others, that he would succeed in convincing the whole party and the whole working class.

This simplicity, combined with great modesty, his attentiveness to the needs of the comrades, his tremendous capacity for work, his endurance and fidelity to principle, and the fact that he introduced strict discipline into the party, made Lenin a man capable of victory. Therein lay the secret of his great influence upon us all. We knew that if Lenin wanted a thing, he would stick to it stubbornly until he got it; he would use every argument, the whole force of his logic, he would cite every fact and take advantage of our own weaknesses in order to demonstrate his idea and compel us to admit its truth.

Lenin never lost his head. To him, certainly, can be applied the words of the great French revolutionary, August Blanqui: "Let your head be as cold as ice and your heart as hot as flame." A cool head, never giving way to panic, and a flaming heart—such was Lenin. However great the danger might be, Lenin was always cool and composed and unagitated. The greater the difficulties which surrounded us, the more menacing the danger, the calmer, the surer of himself, the less liable to panic Lenin appeared to be.

Moreover, Lenin was possessed of an inherent firmness of mind, and will. While others were giving way to prejudice, and wavering hither and thither, Lenin considered every circumstance and placed the question in its boldest form. In this connection he would frequently refer to Napoleon who used to guide himself by a rule which,



freely rendered, amounted to this: Let us first fight and then examine the rights and wrongs of the matter. Or in other words, let us make a start. This is what many lack—the ability to make a start, to have the boldness to begin the fight. Of course, to begin a fight when there is not the slightest chance of success is criminal. But Lenin could foretell better than any other under which circumstances comparatively small chances of success may grow and result in decisive victory. This ability was due to his capacity to weigh the factors of the moment, to understand the masses, to understand their thoughts and their mood, or as Lenin said, to count in millions; i. e., to understand the mood of the vast masses of workers and peasants.

Did Lenin admit himself to be a leader? Yes, and he took great pride in it. He felt that he was indeed the leader of the proletarian revolution, that he had won the right to call himself the leader of the proletarian revolution. When certain comrades became indignant with the criticism levelled at some leader or other, they should remember that Lenin avoided criticism of himself as a leader, least of all and least of all resented having his mistakes pointed out. Indeed, he possessed more than any of us, the sense of responsibility as a leader to the proletarian masses. It was this sense of responsibility which gave him the strength to admit his errors. Lenin taught us that the most dangerous thing for the proletarian revolution was not to be able to admit one's mistakes. He used to say that a party which did not know how to admit its errors must perish, but that we would not perish because we saw our mistakes, could admit them, and could therefore correct them.

Lenin more than any other leader of the proletarian revolution had developed the sense of contact with the

masses, belief in the masses, understanding of the masses and the sense of nearness to the masses.

Such was Lenin as he remains in our memory. Lenin remains a dear and at the same time courageous child in the memory of those who were near to him and in the memory of the peasants. Lenin—a talented youth, with extraordinary endurance, with great capacity for work, with the gifts of a future revolutionary, a strong and steadfast man—such is the Volodya Ulianov which remains in the memory of his school-fellows.

Lenin—the serious student of Marx, “the stern young man,” overthrowing the idols of the Narodniki, rebutting false ideas of the people, jeering at the so-called “Friends of the People,” exposing the deceits of the Liberals; the organizer of Marxian circles, maintaining in his heart the image of his brother, the Narodnovoletz, Alexander Ulianov, with the clear scientific socialist conception of the Marxist—such is the memory of young Vladimir Ulianov, the student in exile and the future leader of the working class.

Lenin—the author of his first Marxian essays directed against the Narodnovoltzi, author of his first book, “What Are the Friends of the People?” Organizer of workers’ circles; and of “The Union for Fighting for the Emancipation of the Working Class”—such is the memory we retained of Lenin, the herald of the future proletarian revolution in Russia.

Lenin in exile, working on his book, “The Development of Capitalism in Russia,” organizing congresses of his exiled comrades, working out the tasks of our party in Russia, in secret contact with the party center abroad—such is our memory of Lenin in exile.

Lenin, the organizer of our party, the editor of “Iskra,” permanent member of the Central Committee, organizer and leader of the Bolshevik Party, organizer of the left



fraction within the Second International, enemy of the Mensheviks and the other distorters and corruptors of the working class movement; enemy of revolutionary phrases; a man of action and the incorruptible guardian of revolutionary Marxian ideas; the enemy of liquidationism; the rallier of the scattered ranks of our party; the torch in the dark night of the Stolypin reaction; the leader of working class thought during the new rise of the working class movement—such is our memory of Lenin in the period of the first proletarian revolution, in the period of the reaction which followed, and in the period of the revival of the working class movement.

Lenin, declaring war upon war; the builder of the new Communist International; Lenin the organizer of the Left Group at Zimmerwald and Kienthal; mercilessly exposing the lies of the social patriots, rallying the forces of the Communists, carrying his truth into the front line trenches, the factories and the villages; with the cry for bread, for peace and freedom, rousing the millions of workers and peasants; branded, hunted and persecuted by the government of Kerensky—such is our memory of Lenin during the World War, of Lenin during the period from February to October.

Lenin, the leader of the October Revolution; Lenin, the chairman of the First Council of People's Commissars, of the First Soviet State, its organizer and its leader; Lenin, the founder of the Communist International; Lenin, leading our party from one triumph to another; Lenin, overcoming the difficulties of the first period of the revolution; Lenin, upholding our courage in the most difficult moments of defeat; Lenin, who taught us to think like Marxists, to fight like revolutionaries, like Leninists. Such is the Lenin that lives in us and gives us strength to continue in the cause of Communism to its final triumph.